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An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain.

—

Dissertation presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by Fonger de Haan.

1895.

La vraie gloire littéraire de l'Espagne réside dans le roman, dans l'histoire et dans la poésie héroïque, qui est encore une manière d'histoire.

(A. Morel-Fatio, Études sur l'Espagne, I, p. 85.)

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Preface.

The following monograph is the outcome of my studies in Spanish literature, undertaken during the months of July, August and September 1894 under the guidance and in the library of Prof. M. Menéndez y Pelayo at Santander, Spain, and brought before the students in the Department of Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University, in a series of weekly lectures during the Academic year 1894-95.

Owing to the many obscure points in this part of Spanish literature, and to the lack of a complete working library, I cannot claim this to be what I should have liked to make it: a "History of the Novela Picaresca".

Many questions that arise in the

Course of a deeper study of this subject can only be carried by constant access to various books that are not found in any library in this Country.

It is proposed to develop this dissertation into a book that may do justice to the subject. To this end it will be necessary:

1. To establish, if possible, the etymology and first appearance of the word *pícaro*
2. To trace the *pícaro* as a social caste, in Castile and elsewhere in the Spanish domains.
3. To settle a number of bibliographical matters that are left incomplete here.

As to the relation between the personal history of the authors and the adventures of their heroes, it is clear that where years of painstaking study

have failed to reveal to Spaniards what we should like to know. A foreign student far away from archives and special libraries can only hope, but not expect, to find new material.

The various questions that remain "sub judice" are duly pointed out; here and there I have suggested a solution which it will be my task to carry out at the earliest opportunity.

Notwithstanding its defects, the following treatment contains more material than that presented in any other work which has appeared up to the present. Especially has attention been paid to bibliography, that most troublesome of subdivisions of Spanish literary history. —

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I. The Novela Picaresca. Its name. Its literary antecedents in Spain.

The Novela Picaresca is the autobiography of a pícaro, a rogue, and in that form a satire upon the conditions and persons of the time that gives it birth[1].

It is claimed that the Lazarillo de Tormes is the first specimen of this class of literature in Spain[2]. This is true, if we admit that a novel must be essentially in prose, but not true if we allow the appellation 'novel' to a composition written in poetry.

Neither are we entitled to call the Lazarillo a Novela picaresca if the novel is to be regarded exclusively as fiction, for, nothing being known concerning its author, so far as we are aware it may be the

actual history of his life; and though the adventures are clearly written with a satirical intent they would not in this case be in fitted to the name of a novel.

If it be remarked that the hero of the work should use the name pícaro in any part of his career, we have also to set aside the Lazarillo, because the first time this word is applied to the hero of a story is in 1599, in the Guzman de Alfarache.

Let us see who is the "pícaro", in order to arrive at the definition of the Novela Picaresca.

The early Spanish Dictionaries define the pícaro as "a person of the lowest class ragged and dirty, who is employed in low work", to which definition was later added the meaning: "astute, he who by skill and dissimulation attains what he desires."

The first time that the word is used in the novel Guzman de Alfarache is in the combination: "a thirsty young pícaro" while a few lines later we find him "carrying things to an inn" and "eaten with a basket"

Cervantes in Rinconete y Cortadillo uses the word for a ragged rascal, and in La Ilustre fregona with the same meaning, and makes the heroes of the former establish themselves as basket-boys who carry things from the market to the houses of housekeepers.

In El Averiguador Universal for 1879 C(esareo) F(ernández) D(uro) asks the question who were the pícaros? He had found in the city ordinances of an old town of Castile, written in the sixteenth century, the regulation: "there were only twelve ganapanes and

twelve *pícaros*, and to distinguish them the *ganapanes* shall use red hoods and the *pícaros* green ones."[11] To which Barbi, the editor, replied that according to Salva's dictionary the word *pícaro* formerly designated a boy who stands with his basket in the market-place to carry what is entrusted to him.[12]

Not only in the above-mentioned city ordinances do we find the names *pícaro* and *ganapán* mentioned as being closely related to each other, but Lope de Vega in *La Doctora de su Pelo* makes use of the characters use the two words in the same *jornada*, both dressed to the same season, and both with vituperative force.[13]

The *ganapanes* were thus called "because they earned their bread with hard work, and with a more becoming name they were called *Hombres del trabajo*, and they had a hospital

life, not caring about honor, and so they are asha-
med of nothing; they do not mind going about in
rags, and not having property, they cannot be
sued by merchants. They eat and drink of the
best, and spend their time in entertainment.

Three times [illegible] are found in Espinel's novel
the poem „La vida del pícaro"[10], so that it
may be said that the difference between these
two characters was, that the *garapón* did
many work, carrying heavy things, and the
pícaro used a basket, of which the contents were
necessarily small, so that a boy could exercise his
office.

This term originated the denomination „the
word *pícaro* from *picea*" a lance for infantry,
either because they carried one in war, or more
[illegible] [17]
[illegible] „[illegible]" or from
picar" to [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

ings his etymology.[19] The Italian *picaro* comes nearer to *pícaro* in form, but again we are confronted with the difficulty of explaining why the Spanish word was used for a ragged basket-boy while the Italian word has no such meaning, and has however various equivalents in Spanish one of them, *pequeño*, probably from the same root.[20]

It will be necessary to study city ordinances of the Sixteenth Century, before we can say when the *pícaros* came forward as a class of people or try to determine their origin, which may give us a sure foundation for conjecture as to their name.

The first time that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the word occurs in literature, is in a letter by Eugenio de Salazar,[21] written probably not later than 1566.[22] He gives us here a delightful description of Madrid, where he finds the

pícaro in Company of the worst rabble that a large city contains, and his long enumeration of dangerous characters[23] calls to mind a passage from the Precipicio de Vita,[24] which in turn, by rare coincidence is reproduced by Clément Marot.[25]

So the pícaro was a member of a class that bore a bad reputation, in fact was ranked with the lowest people. He did not work hard for a living, spent what he could get on eating and drinking and did not concern himself about tomorrow.

In these points, though the word does not occur in the story, Lazarillo is the equal of the pícaro. All his concern is how to get home, being indifferent to satisfy his ever-present appetite. Clothes when no other way offers, and perfectly happy when at last he finds a place where he can eat at the expense of his master.

Long before Lazarillo was given to the public in Spanish form it existed in Germany and in the other languages of the Peninsula. The Archpriest de Hita had written his poem, which is usually called Libro de Cantares[26], and is considered as one of the masterpieces of Spanish literature.[27] In it he describes in an attractive form his quest of pleasure, especially of love. He recounts his own intrigues with various personages who associate with very disreputable individuals to attain his ends, thereby frequently getting somewhat at his mercy, times. His experience in his good humor and his wit, unexcelled his style and his happy impersonation of various characters inimitable his fluency of versification in the numerous forms of verse, and unrivalled the appropriateness with which he introduces and tells a fable. But all this does not make him a pícaro. He neither

Stasio was born Hego for Instance, in fact, is only too much addicted to women, and though he would not be generally considered a model, especially as a priest he would be a more desirable, more entertaining, and safer acquaintance than any of the persons whom we shall meet in the course of our study of the novel proper. It is true he is satirical, and writes an autobiography, but it is a poem, and poems are not novels though they may be fiction.

Villarroel, remarkable and interesting though the man be, we can only reject the claim of Juana Rosigo Libre de los Ojos[28] to consideration as a picaresque novel.[29] It is the story of a man from Valencia who in his old age relates his life to a nephew, in order to warn him against the wiles of women. When young he started out to be a monk in Granada, married much unfortunately

three times, and found that "all is vanity". The purpose of the work is a satire against women. The hero worked hard and honorably for his earnings, and though poor at the beginning of his career he did not lead life: he labored himself by thieving or trickery. Moreover, his production is a poem; this, together with the reasons just noted, induces me to exclude it from a place among the Novela Picaresca, though, like the Celestina, it has a right to be called a forerunner of that Novela.

More directly perhaps was the autobiographic form suggested to the author of Lazarillo by the Asinus Aureus of Apuleius, of which the first Spanish translation appeared in 1513, followed soon by various others.[30] Though the two works bear no similarity as to Contents, both deal with the lower classes and denounce the higher orders of society and both are characteristic

of the time in which they were composed: the Asinus Aureus, of the Roman empire, threatened with dissolution, infested with disorderly persons and depraved characters; the Lazarillo, of a realm that seemed powerful, but at whose vitals was gnawing the evil that was to destroy it: the horror of lowest toil.[31]

The Celestina and its host of imitations deserves our attention as having paved the way for the Novela Picaresca. In the Celestina itself, a work far more noteworthy than any of the numerous Continuations and imitations, we have a long prose dialogue, hardly to be called a play on account of its extent and many passages that could never be rendered on any stage, which portrays, in a manner not since equalled, all the desires, hopes and fears, all the baseness and depravity of the lowest of human kind. Toward the end the sixteenth century its popularity

was unequaled; there seems to be no end to the number of editions[32] that found their ready buyers and readers; its imitations[33] are as numerous as those of Amadis and it was only when in 1605 Don Quijote entered upon his triumphant march through the literary world that La Celestina descended to a less prominent place among the chief masterpieces of Spanish literature.

But though dealing with low characters, and often frankly satirical in their tone, neither the original Celestina nor the imitations are picaresque books in the sense. What they satirize is the wickedness of young men of high rank, who think no baseness if they can betray a young lady of high standing; the numerous class of horrible old hags who help them in their sinful undertakings; the servants, never faithful to their masters but only intent upon gain; the braggarts and swashbucklers,

cowardly with the strong and overbearing with the weak and unprotected. The silly young women, so easily led astray by fine words and extravagant pretense of affection; the would-be poets who call upon the heaven and earth to inspiration, and in many words, that no one understands, express nothing that conveys a thought. In short, the disorders of society in their relation to one another are pictured, in the imitations with a sort of pretentious attempt at learning, in the original Celestina with a power that even now causes the effect of a lifelike portrait. The purpose however, of drawing attention to existing evils and of hinting at the remedy for them, is not there[34]; the only lesson that is taught in these works, is that of shunning the dangerous paths of illicit love.

Now, having set aside the poetic works of the Arcipreste de Hita and of Juanne Ruiz, as well as the dialogued Celestina, I ask once

Name: What is a Novela Picaresca?

It is the prose autobiography of a person, real or imaginary, who strives by his wits and by force to make a living, and in relating his experiences in various classes of society points out the vices which came under his observation.

This definition more strictly applies only to the most typical works of the class; later the autobiographic form was not always regarded as necessary for the purpose, and sometimes also the satirical intention is absent. But in the latter case we find a state of society which, though accepted by the author, is so bad that the careful portrayal of it is a sufficient hint as to what needs correction; and thus, perhaps unintentionally, the author writes a satire upon this society, himself included.

II Lazarillo de Tormes.

Toward the end of the reign of Charles V. there appeared a little book that, unpretentious and unassuming, was the keenest satire upon existing conditions of society. It narrates of the adventures of a boy who in the various classes with whom he had associated, had always suffered from want of food, so that he could satisfy the cravings of his stomach only by theft and trickery. When he finds a person of honor, it is one who by his pride and his sense of honor is compelled to go without eating and without eating because work would be disgraceful to one of his station. Lazarillo, the boy, finds the end of his hard, thieving way when he sells his honor for the sake of eating his fill.

Spain was at this epoch a country of Mexican feeling conditions. It had for centuries

been fighting to free itself of foreign invaders with whom it had nothing in common, and had at last succeeded in re-establishing its power and independence. In the course of this long contest its inhabitants, known from the oldest times for their unextinguishable desire for freedom, had strengthened that desire, and been rewarded for their exertions in war by various privileges which placed their rights upon a firm basis. Both the higher and the lower classes had in many civil uprisings asserted their rights, the last time with disastrous results, when the war of the Comunidades ended in the victory of a new principle: absolute monarchy.

In the endless interior and outer foreign wars all classes had found opportunity to satisfy their longing for adventure and their desire for gain. To these the discovery of the Western hemisphere and of many other unknown lands had opened new fields and many hopeful [illegible]

thither to achieve renown and wealth. This had drawn the most sturdy elements of society from the Country, and as most of the able-bodied subjects had sought their fortunes elsewhere, it was only the feeble ones who had remained. Of these, many sought to gain a living in official capacities, for which the [illegible] were the antechamber, while others less advantageously situated, tried to live on the crumbs that fell from the tables of the wealthy. The [illegible] Court had set the example of prodigality, and this, together with the enormous expense of endless wars from which no profit accrued to the Country, intended as they were to satisfy only the ambitious aims of the Ruler, had brought the resources of the Country to the verge of bankruptcy.

Under these inauspicious conditions the little book: La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de

the returns of indescribable [illegible] The reports
is the increasing and unexpected hunger[1] that
filled the Country from end to end with famished
wretches, while those who possessed land prodigally
guarded it as their very life, denying themselves
almost the necessities of sustenance in order to
accumulate a little hoard of wealth.[37] Those in
a position to help others failed to do their duty
by their fellow-men the nobles in servility,
not faithful servants, but only those who pandered
to their tastes[38] the clergy by being unapproach-
able when in high position,[39] and by being more
miserly than others when only possessed of a
small living.[40] The petty nobles had only one
feeling: that of their importance and the considera-
tion due to them on account of their birth;[41] they
consequently could not debase themselves by
work, and their only hope was to find a place
in the household of the king in power.[42] When

ance in such positions, adroitness in flattering their
masters was the only means to insure their future,[43]
as also in a lower estate only the astute and
unscrupulous could thrive.[44] Cheerity was found only
among the lower classes,[45] and at times even this
would fail, when the hosts of beggars became so
great that the authorities thought it necessary
to drive them from the cities.[46]

Among the people so sorely afflicted a certain
clerical good-humor and hopefulness prevailed,
that here then [illegible] under the [illegible]
Clerics. They were capable of [illegible]
ancies when [illegible] was wanting,[47] and of laughing
heartily when the comical side of their situation
was made apparent.[48] And when at last a
lucky tide had brought momentary good fortune,
their inborn [illegible][49] [illegible] that would see them as poor and helpless as before.

A band of this kind could not fail to become

popular, because it spoke aloud what everybody felt and gave the people an opportunity to laugh their sorrows away. The more so as in all Spanish literature, at least in prose, we find no other work written in such simple language and unaffected style. An occasional classical allusion[50] does not indicate that the author was a scholar: in all Spanish books of the time it was considered not out of place to put a vast amount of quotations from Latin and Greek authors in the mouths of stable-boys and low women.[51] How the elaborate of phrase-constructions[52] found in this work, could have been associated with the name of so consummate a scholar as Diego de Mendoza, who for centuries was (and by some scholars still is) supposed to be the author, is incomprehensible. My impression is that the author, whose real name we can only hope some happy discovery may reveal, was a person who may have gone

Hurtado's precisely those adventures that he describes being of humble birth and later of modest position, in which he became known as [illegible] Hurtado that had befallen him in his youth, and was requested by a person of rank to put his experiences on record for the amusement of the general public.[53]

The history of the book is too well known to be mentioned here at length. How it is claimed that Mendoza wrote it when a student at [illegible][54] how it is said that in 1553 it was first printed at Antwerp[55] while we only know with certain by that there are three editions of 1554 [56] (at Burgos, at Alcalá and at Antwerp) the priority of which is not even now fully established; how editions followed editions[57] until in 1559 the book was prohibited by the Inquisition[58] on account of its too free utterances concerning the clergy; how, in spite of this, copies found in private hands would be

introduced into Spain, to that at last it was deemed advisable to make an expurgated edition[59]; how in 1555[60] a continuation had been composed that showed an entire misconception of the spirit of the book, and how this after-piece went off into an imitation of Lucian; how again, in 1620,[61] a Spaniard living at Paris took upon himself the task to continue where the original author had stopped, and how he made a readable story in which his grief against the Inquisition found vent[62]; how in imitation of the Lazarillo de Tormes a Lazarillo de Manzanares was written in which a good opportunity to satirize Madrid life in 1620 was missed[63]; how the book was soon translated into other languages[64] and became familiar everywhere, and in Spain was so popular that the boy who leads a blind man has ever since been called a Lazarillo[65], and that certain expressions of the Spanish language became common phrases alluding to the story[66]. While this response

did not disdain to allude to the book,[67] and, in Dutch, the best play extant was based upon one of Lazarillo's adventures.[68]

The little book is surely a most remarkable, though well deserved, fortune and stands as one of the most curious, entertaining and important works in the Spanish Language. But though everyone knew the book by heart, its influence was not powerful enough to change the conditions of Spain, and half a century later a voice once more went up to ameliorate, if possible, the wretched state of her people.

III. Guzman de Alfarache. by Mateo Aleman

In 1599 was given to the world another story in prose, autobiographic in form, the hero being no longer one who from sheer want is driven to petty theft, but on the contrary, though having had many opportunities to attain comfort in honest ways, he had preferred to be

a Condemnate rascal, ending his career in the galleys, and there, filled with contrition, writing his life as a warning to others.

The date of the work is significant. In 1598 (Philip the second had died, and a new king had come to the throne of whom many expected a better state of affairs than that which had prevailed under his father's rule. Soon however it became clear that not in every way was improvement destined to come. While the old king had personally attended to the details of government,[69] to that merit, once placed in position of trust, had been enabled to earn official recognition, under the new rule all was left to favor and favorites;[70] the king only saw the rest always glorious, surface of things, and was ignorant of all except what could afford him pleasure, a policy that was continued during the reign of his successors. Just as in the early part of the reign of Philip the

Lecand hosts of office-seekers (and) gathered at the Capital but the gradually disappeared as their fortunes became exhausted and no government places fell to their share, so now crowds thronged to Madrid who sought position or promotion: soldiers, administrators, literary persons, many of whom went away with empty hands and wasted their pittance in jaunts. Pedro Alcántara Herrera was one of these, if we are to trust Emilio Castelar's grandiloquent biography; for also it is only recently that attempts have been made to study the lives of Spanish authors more thoroughly than their contemporaries thought necessary, and some of the most prominent writers have never received the honor of a somewhat complete biography. Alcántara belongs to this class of neglected writers, and the facts we know about his life are meagre in the extreme. He was a long time administrator in the treasury,

has presented because his account is more incorrect, and in his old age emigrated to Mexico.[73] He was born in Tenth;[74] he seems to have been a soldier probably before he obtained an office, and perhaps never returned to his native country from across the Atlantic.[76]

The Cayman suggests to me the following points as bearing directly upon Plautus's history.

In the book two facts are very apparent, outside of the story of the hero: first, the strong and unsparing remarks the author makes, by mouth of Cayman, concerning the state of the Spanish realm; secondly, his thorough knowledge of everything pertaining to the geography of Italy north of Rome, and to the state of the cities in this region of the peninsula. Besides these, as minor matters, we note his familiarity with the details of soldier life, their tricks at cards and other distinguishing

truth. This leads me to assume that the statement that he once was a soldier is correct, and in the second place that, when he had gone to Madrid in order to apply for a position under the new government, his claim, based upon his services in official capacities had been denied, and somebody else, more skillful in flattery and in fawning on those in power, had been given the desired place.

That he went to Mexico is sufficiently proved by various passages in his Ortografía; nothing further is known about him, and it is matter of conjecture to notice that there seem to be indications, though rather doubtful, that about 1617 he was again in Madrid.

It would require evidence drawn from more of the passages of the preliminaries Engaños to set forth and to weigh the points noted above. While Engaños is a work that, as a whole, suffers from the too long digressions, which some critics have

Pícaro decided to omit in addition they proposed to make, to me the interest of the story is secondary to have very digressions, because we find in them the expression of opinion of a man who in various capacities and in long and efficient service had become thoroughly acquainted with the state of things in his time and who, too old to accept the new order of affairs, was honest enough to desire the welfare of his country rather than his own private advantage. Strange to say, I do not find that the Inquisition ever meddled with the book, though some expressions contained in it are much stronger and more unreserved than the passage that was found objectionable in the Quijote.

But we have to consider the work in the light of our subject; as such, it bears the character of the real picaresque novel, more so, in truth, than the Lazarillo. For here we have a person,

well equipped for success in life, who voluntarily throws away his chances, and prefers to steal and cheat rather than avail himself of the opportunity to earn an honest living. It is sufficiently characteristic of the times that this work was popular as a work of entertainment only; a long passage in Rojas's continuation of the story[80] throws a striking light upon the spirit of the Spanish public of this time - a public that found material for amusement in literary products which now cause us to turn aside in disgust from the much refinement so necessary to give rise to such literature as is discussed in Rojas's work.

It is only very recently that the bibliography of Alemán is beginning to look satisfactory, and even now there are some minor details that are not cleared up.[81] From contemporary statement we knew his power of work[82]; we now know that he also indulged in making clever poetical trans-

tations from Horace[83]; his critical acumen is proved by his estimates of the works of Others; and his knowledge of the Spanish language not only induced him to submit a method for improving, very reasonably to be sure, the tumultuary contemporary Spanish spelling,[84] but enabled him to write an Exercise work that, though less sparkling with wit than Don Quixote, and less easy in style, is a beautiful specimen of writing displaying as it does his command of language alike in exhortation as in story-telling in sarcasm and in gravity, in description and in dignified remonstration.[85] The more is the pity that so little is known of a person of such parts; We should like to know the man who was almost the only representative, and surely the most settled in his convictions, of those whose patriotism made them raise their voice in opposition to the evils that threatened to ruin their country.[86]

The work of Mateo Rojas de Sayavedra,[87] or Juan Martí,[88] though for some reasons an estimable book, and a valuable contribution to our knowledge of his time,[89] sinks into insignificance as a novel when read after Guzman. All the striking qualities of the original author are lacking; his arrangement of the plot is frequently awkward; his digressions no longer form part of the story, but assume the character of special treatises; his language is wanting in effectiveness, and contains many constructions that Aleman no longer used. Almost the same thing may be said of

IV. La pícara Justina.

The work is pretentious from the very Preface, and is a monument of Spanish Literature mainly for the reason that it is the earliest important specimen of the wretched taste that was soon to prevail. As a picaresque novel it may safely be left unread, for the adventures

are uninteresting in the extreme, but a curious piece of literature it is, with its shallow criticisms and proudly announced variety of verse. In the matter of language it is a useful book, since, with its endless play upon words and violent combinations of ideas, it furnishes material not easily gathered from the more pithy jokes of the Graciosos, the comical characters in the Spanish classical drama.[91]

Quite different is the next work,

V. El Viaje Entretenido of Agustin de Rojas.

In chronological succession the Viaje should have come before the Justina, who was given her place because she is a direct successor to Guzman.[92] The Viaje offers interest from every point of view: the history of the Spanish stage would be very incomplete if we did not know of Rojas' book; but, besides this, it is the indubitable autobiography of one of that

numerous Class who lived by their wits and their wit, and were not ashamed to confess their shortcomings and direct violation of all the proprieties.[18] A real autobiography of this kind is in itself sufficient to give rise to a Class of literature dealing with unscrupulous characters, and it seems peculiar that other actors did not, in like manner, bring before the public their adventures and experiences. But the picaresque novel had already found its form, and other actors did not have the literary ability of Rojas, whose Loas are models of their kind and whose farce Auto is as clever as his poetry.

A curious epilogue to his Viaje is formed by his future adventures. Eight years after this work was published he wrote a very different kind of book, El buen republico, from which we learn that, having added to his

experiences that of a lawsuit and an unhappy marriage, he became a public officer, escribano, in which position he composed that book, wherein matters of administration are discussed."[94] But, given the antecedents of the man, and the character which the government officials bore, it looks like a case of the wolf in sheep's clothing, and we might consider it safer for society if this pícaro had turned hermit, as some of the fortunate did: the danger to those coming into contact with an friend would not then be increased through confidence in the garb of official position and the protection of authority.

The Guía became so well known, as is testified by the various editions of it, that the name the hero gives himself, "El Caballero del Milagro", became the equivalent of the French "Chevalier d'industrie" and is frequently met in later picaresque literature.[95]

The omnipresence of the pícaro[96] no longer required the autobiographic form. We begin to find him in every place, and the greatest name in Spanish literature has also immortalized this [illegible] of wickedness.

VI Cervantes

Original in everything he wrote, penetrating into all the circumstances of life, and foreseeing how the very virtues of the Spaniards of old would show themselves ill-adapted to the new environment in which they were to be transplanted, Cervantes brings before us the pícaro as no one else has done. Alemán had shown us the beggars' associations in Italy, with their Statutes and their chief[97]; Cervantes, familiar with the lowest types in the parasites of Spain, tells us of their fraternity under the leadership of the gigantic figure of Monipodio.[98] So faithful to the portrayal of reality

his sense of detail, that his character sketching has enabled an attentive critic to reveal to us, after the lapse of centuries, the place where that iniquitous band used to gather and plan their exploits.

Cervantes passed through Salamanca, and his stay is long enough to impress indelibly upon his mind the "aunto" and their "nieces" who kept alive the legendary name of Celestina.[100] At Valladolid the dogs of the hospital gathering alms for the sufferers suggest to him the kaleidoscopic series gathered under the name: Coloquio de los Perros.[101] The gipsies and their Brandenigo, their poetic appearance and their uncompromising disregard of all authority save that of their own chiefs, inspire the immortal story of Preciosa.[102]

The clever and witty Ginés de Pasamonte, more dangerous for his shrewdness, unrestrained

even in. Chains, and able to impersonate various
conceptions characters is lapidly photographed
as it flits by in his ever changing form.[103] The
innkeeper turns Don Quijotes ideal of a true
knight into farce by showing his own personal
faits et gestes so equal to those which the
Knight of the Woeful Figure is striving to
accomplish.[104] The young men of high family, who
desert their comfortable homes for the untrammelled
liberty of picaresque life, find in Cervantes the
reporter who inspires their every word, follows
their every step, and writes up their happily
ending peregrination for the enjoyment of the
public of all ages.[105]

When our author's misplaced confidence lodges
him in the horrors of the prison at Sevilla, his
spirit is on the alert even in such surroundings,
and no [illegible] could
have placed before us a more complete descriptive

of the untold misery, the never ceasing injustice, and the Satanic revelry that are encompassed by those dungeon-walls.[106] When Cervantes tries his powers in the drama, the pícaro is there, the hero of the play, which may justly be called a picaresque Comedy.[107]

And after leaving this rogues' gallery, repainted in indelible colors — a striking specimen among the most precious collections of the House of Fame — he dies in poverty, courageous and chivalrous to the last, but with the doubt as to whether his life had been well spent, and whether his work would accomplish what he had intended. Posterity, long blinded by the glare of the footlights and the pomp of lord-mounted actors, has at last placed his name above those of all others who ever wrote the language of Spain, and no Spaniard who reads but knows by heart, as he knows his

prayers, the words that fall from the lips of Don Quijote the wisdom of the sentences that is stored in the memory of Sancho, all the adventures and mishaps that befall this immortal pair.

But many there of cultivated tastes have learned to appreciate the Novelas Ejemplares. While it is difficult to meet a Spaniard who does not consider the Quijote the greatest book of all literatures, even cultured persons will be unfamiliar with Cervantes' shorter prose writings. All must yield to the most confirmed and enthusiastic "Cervantista" in admiration of the genius that fills every page of the Quijote, but greater still, in my estimation, is the power that speaks from Rinconete y Cortadillo and the Coloquio de los Perros. The Quijote may cause us to meditate again upon the relative merits of idealism, common sense of egoism and delusions, but the peripeteias of poor, the

absolute composure of the author, the singleness of purpose, and the unequalled distribution of light and shade make his shorter stories seem scenes from the history of the immortal hero of La Mancha. The flaws we discover in them are not to be blamed on Cervantes: they are due to careless editing, and when they have been corrected nothing is left to displease the most fastidious critic.[106] Had Cervantes found the opportunity to write his picaresque novel, we should no longer consider Lesage's Gil Blas the father of our modern roman de moeurs. As it is, Boccaccio in his most felicitous moments has nothing to equal Rinconete; and the picaro of Cervantes, even after we know such characters as Lazarillo and Guzman, is a revelation equal to an invention.[107]

A statement of Vicente Lafuente, that, in order to know the lépero thoroughly, one

necessary to read the Lives of Saints[110], is astonishing, and I have not been able to convince myself of its accuracy. It becomes probable, however, if we consider that the Pícaro is represented sometimes in very pious garb.

VII. The Viaje del Mundo, by Cevallos.

This book was written by a man who had for years been an efficient missionary in the West and East Indies, at least so he himself asserts, when he produced it. Nothing seems to be known about him but what he saw fit to communicate, and he makes no mystery of what he has done. When young he had led a dissolute life: fighting duels on the least provocation; leaving for America when circumstances grew too threatening for him in Spain; and leading in the New World the usual wicked life of the Conquistadores, until at last, being severely wounded in battle, he recognized the evil of his ways,

reformed, turned priest, and set out to Convert the Heathen.

It is peculiar — perhaps it may be due to the Spirit of the times — that the story of the events of his bad life is much more readable than that of his experiences in virtue. Not only does the author repeat himself Continually in the latter history, but besides, it gives the impression of not having been written with the same enthusiasm and predilection for his subject as the first part. Though he proudly relates the Conversion of twelve thousand Indians in one day, his style is much more vivid, his account much more animated, and his language much easier, when he tells us how he held his own against four ruffians at Sevilla, or killed a man who claimed a bunch of flowers which a lady had dropped at our author's feet from a window. For parts like

these the book deserves a place in our series,[111] and I am supported in this view by no less an authority than Ternaux Compans, who reworked this part of the Viaje del Mundo into a little book that is one of the best specimens of the novela picaresque.[112]

By this time the pícaro is so firmly established in literature that we hardly can open a book but we find him. Everybody had experiences of a picaresque nature, and in whatever form he wrote, some time or other the story must be told. It was customary to have some personage of a low rank relate stories; if these happened to be an account of one's own life they always became picaresque. A fine specimen of this class is met in the VIII. Pasagero, of Suarez de Figueroa.

Here we have four people who start out in summer from Madrid to Barcelona, in order to

embarks there for Italy. To relieve the tedium of the journey they converse on a great variety of subjects, and one, "el Doctor", who has traveled and read a great deal, is the most important talker. For the first time in the course of the present study the word Capítulo is discarded; the chapters of the Pasagero bear the name aliviо; all kinds of titles were given later to the divisions of these books.

The author is a sarcastic individual who vents his objections to everything and everybody, especially to the authors of his time; his name being mentioned on the titlepage with the epithet: "el Doctor", we may suppose that the long account of his own life given by the Doctor of the story is really the author's auto-biography, adorned and adapted to suit the plan, prose; the more readily will we agree to this, as little is known of the real events of his life—

history, and a supposed authentic contribution to our knowledge of the man is welcome."[113]

The value of the book consists mainly in the information we receive from it about the state of literature at this time; besides this, the picaro plays a conspicuous part, not only in the author's, or let us say, the Doctor's, account of his life,"[114] but also in the less skilful part, the autobiographical story of the Ventero,[115] the innkeeper, one of the worst specimens of his decried class. All in all, the little work is a striking example of Spanish prose writing early in the Seventeenth century, and though presented in the form of conversation, the interest never flags; for the insight into character shown by the writer gives a tone of reality that is not equalled in other compositions which resorted to this artifice of style.

It is supposed, but we have no certainty

for the assumption, that Figueroa describes his own life in his Pasagero; the same may be said of the work that follows that of Figueroa in the history of this species of literature, and ranks far above the Pasagero in literary value. If the author's life were known in detail as we are acquainted with it in outline this novel would perhaps even gain in interest. At all events, it is one of the masterpieces of Spanish picaresque literature. Many esteem it more for the celebrated Controversy that centres in it, than for its actual merits as a picaresque production.

5. Vuelva de Provença, by Espinel.

The author, even without this novel, would hold an important place in Spanish literature having invented a form of verse which, from its first appearance, has held its own and having made improvements in the guitar, from

which Mata has general, almost classic, proportion of that instrument in place of the older vihuela. His poems are estimable, though their tone is sometimes of an order that might offend a severer sense of propriety[117] and his scholarly attainments entitled him to compose many laudatory verses, Latin and Spanish, for various publications of his friends. While he was not an infrequently called upon to give to the official press-Encomiums of his time his appreciation of new works.

So great was his reputation that the publisher of Vergara paid a very high price for the Copyright of this novel[118]; the public, though it has always continued to esteem the work, seems however to have grown rather weary of further picaresque novels, for the edition was another only of long intervals, and of prose works of Lope it

was only Guzman and Quijote, among the older productions, that continued to appear in numberless reprints.

The Obregon is, like the two last-named novels, the work of an old man; but while Aleman and Cervantes had suffered, they had not aged as Espinel clearly had. There is a tone, an indescribable kind of heaviness running through his book, for which impressing his wild life may account. The hero also being an old man who relates his experiences, the buoyant spirit of the Guzman is sadly lacking here, and the escudero relates not the tricks he played himself, in which the recollection of his boyhood might have interested him, but various comical and romantic personal reminiscences of his meeting with curious characters. The [illegible] of the language, however, grows upon the

reader, and perhaps also it is the pleasure of meeting well-known personages of Gil Blas' host of acquaintances that makes so appreciate Vargas.

It may be said that Vargas has created the interest in Espinel, who otherwise would have been assigned a place among the Cervantic possibilities; as it is, the appreciation that the French, even aroused for the history of the pícaro and his literature has placed Vargas in a comparatively positive. And this the work would deserve of its own merits: for language, for vivid picturesque style, for curious and well-told stories[119], for carefully delineated characters, and for mention of several historic personages, various traits of whose character are recorded only here.[120]

That Vargas and Espinel are identical is apparent from many passages in the story;[121] still, though many events must be considered

in having been actually [illegible] by Espinel,
there are some which it can be proved are fictitious,[122]
and thus it is here no easy task to discriminate
etc in every instance between history and fiction.

Espinel, who had led a very stormy life,
might perhaps have written a greater work by
recording frankly everything he experienced from early
youth to old age, and by placing before the public
the result of his views in regard to his own actions
as an Example and a Warning. Though such was
his professed purpose,[123] there are strong indications
that he more particularly intended the book[124]
for the delectation of his friend and patron (who
had also befriended Cervantes) the Cardinal Archbishop of Sevilla, Don Fernando de Andrade
y Rojas, who, only too well acquainted with
Espinel's life, could not have been [illegible] by
seeing his sinful protégé make a public
confession in print.

The time for such works was not far distant, but the spirit of the age not yet being so cynical that everything could be accepted as "human documents", (an advantage which our century enjoys as did the epoch also of Benvenuto Cellini) when a real autobiography appeared in Spanish it would in the main be a record of duelling and feats of arms. Of such productions we shall presently find some examples. In historic deeds Spain, however, two other works claim our attention that have the peculiarity of having been written in France, the one by a Spaniard, the other by a Frenchman, though both are in Spanish.

The number of Spaniards was great at the French capital; many of them made a living by teaching their language as did the author of the second and best continuation of Lazarillo, Juan de Luna.

One of these Spaniards who made a living

his teaching Spanish to Parisians may have been the author of the curious book that we shall now consider.

X. La Nueva Guida Critica de los Bienes ajenos. The subtitle runs: "La antigüedad y nobleza de los ladrones", and indicates the scope of the work.

The author, "El Doctor" García, gives an account of his conversation with a prisoner in Santa Julian of Paris who told him of his experiences as a thief and began to train him in the art. Everybody who has attained success has a right to some respect. The title here is a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of members of this class and of the characteristic vocabulary belonging to them and to their trade. It is a clever composition written in vigorous style and contains much information and many jokes not easily met elsewhere while the author's extensive reading is frequently apparent in his

allusions to literature.[125] The little book might still have gained in value had the author seen fit to institute a comparison between Spanish and French fairies, as in subtle and more popular theatres he[126] compared the two nations in their habits of life. From the latter, more than from any other contemporary source, we get a complete account of various peculiarities that are invaluable for the right understanding of obscure matters of dress and manners, such as a native does not consider strange and striking, and a foreigner seldom consigns to writing.

The other work referred to above, that by a Frenchman, is a novel, greatly overestimated, if we are to judge by the price booksellers place upon it.

XI. Eneyroz de Castro by Lomba, or de Lamarca.[127]

This story is bulky enough to satisfy the most eager reader, and insipid enough to make its chief merit consist in the facts it records.

monstrated, namely,

1. That the Spanish Language was very popular outside of Spain, being studied and even written by foreigners, and

2. That it is possible for a foreigner to learn Spanish well enough to write books in it.

This is all I can say in favor of the production, which contains the account Iriarte de Castro gives of his uneventful and uninteresting life, in a way that makes no wonder how the author succeeded in filling so large a book with so little that circumstances brought or suggested. Had he continued to write Shorter Stories, as his earlier Engaños de este siglo, improving his moral tone as he did his language, he might have attained an enviable place among Spanish Story-tellers; as it stands, his chief production is an abortion, mentioned here only for the sake of completeness of [illegible] history.

As Cervantes' Numelas gave rise to various dramas, so one of his plays inspired a very fertile and clever author, dramatist himself of no small skill, to write a novel of the same name, the subject itself indicating that we should have here a picaresque novel, and the repute of its author warranting its importance. I refer to

XII. Pedro de Urdemalas, by Salas Barbadillo.[129]

Unfortunately the book is very rare, never having been reprinted, and I have not been able to obtain even a view of the novel. It would be interesting to compare Cervantes' play and Barbadillo's rewriting, which, to judge by other works of his hand, surely will hold a worthy place beside the original.

To another book, El picaro de Madrid, the title of which leaves us to suppose that it may have been a novel, and perhaps of picaresque character, nothing is known except that a work [illegible]

printed early in the Eighteenth Century, but to the work among those of our authors.[130] In this circumscription however, there may be a mistake, as we have an official list of his genuine writings, in which list Talega does not appear.[131]

Likewise I can only suppose, until further investigation enables me to determine definitely the authorship, that a story called El pícaro amante, which must have been written about this time, belongs to Barbadillo. Nowhere have I found this story mentioned, and the volume in which I had the good fortune to find it gives no names of authors, though some other stories therein contained are well known to belong to Lozano's writings and publications.[132] The Pícaro amante is cleverly written, telling of two students who join a troop of vagrant actors; when the company breaks up they go to Italy, meet with reverses, return to Spain, stay at Valencia and at

[illegible] and here become servants to some gentlemen. Their masters promise them wages, but when they demand them from them are told that during their year of probation they should expect nothing except board. So they begin to steal, and when they have collected a small fortune go to Castile, where the one, falling in love with a wealthy young lady, enters as a servant in her father's house, and, pretending that he is a nobleman in disguise, succeeds in marrying the daughter, so that his future is assured.

These Picaresque novels have had a strange fortune: some of them have been translated into various languages, winning their popularity with the reading public, but in Spain they seem to have been largely forgotten for the all-absorbing drama. They are very few, more than a dozen since 1737, and of the one that is particularly picaresque in character no Spanish copy has

come into my hands which in English and an Italian translation are fine works.[133] This is the Juicio de un afortunado, in which an eccentric old doctor tells the interesting story of his wife to a young man who has called upon him to ascertain who this strange and inaccessible old man is. The old man has had various experiences with his uncle, a village priest, in which he behaves as Lazarillo in the same circumstances with a nobleman who is seeking an office; with various women whom he robs; as a student at Salamanca; as an alcalde, which position he obtains on account of his reputation for folly; and finally, when he inherits his father's fortune because he was a fool, and on condition that he leave it to the most foolish of his children, he vows to be a fool all his life. A second part to the work is promised, but not known to have been published.

As Barbadillo imitated others, so parts of this

novel are found imitated in later authors. (It would well repay a thorough study, which however the more necessary by reason of the intimate relation with many authors of his period: Lope, Cervantes and others and of the general oblivion into which his novels have undeservedly fallen.

One of those who knew the *Necio* and reproduces some passages from it only a few years after the original had appeared, is the author of the next work that deserves our consideration,

XIII. *Flores.* Tercera de muchos amores.[134]

This work is more usually called *El Donado Hablador*, such being the subtitle which the author of *Derecho Examinado* de *Alcala* [illegible] y Ribera gave to his work. In it a man who has seen much of the world tells a friend what he had gone through, what he had observed, to what reflexions those observations had given rise, how he had tried to improve others by pointing out their failings, and how

thereby he was obliged to seek a new frame since no one was pleased to have to talk to and pedantically direct a servant. The author has chosen the form of dialogue, the advantage of which is not clear to the reader, since there is but one interlocutor, and he seldom says more than a few words of encouragement to proceed in telling his story.

In another respect this work differs from our novels heretofore considered: it contains various well-told anecdotes and fables,[135] in lieu of pretentiously composed stories that are read off or related by persons with whom the hero chances to meet. Fables and anecdotes are so rarely found in Spanish literature of this time that it is necessary to draw attention to their occurrence in the Donato. Moreover we find a useful contribution to our knowledge of the state of Spain in the chapters dealing with Alonso's account of his experiences among the gypsies[136] and in a medical man's appreciation of his

profession.[137] In all three regards, the Diente holds a prominent place among Spanish prose works of the period - a fact that a writer of more ability, should have preferred the constraint of Versification to the ease of the prose novel.

It is to be noted that Alonso, when last met, is a hermit, a worthy ending of an eventful life. Our, pricing though it sounds, the next work speaks of a person who, after fighting in various parts of the world, with persecution or without it, weary of military life became a monk: strange still, the person in question is known in history and though the account we have in the biographic poem has a strong flavor of forgery, the facts there mentioned can be traced to be in general historically valid.

XIV. La Poesía religiosa.

As in other lands and in other times, the generally prevailing spirit of adventure and longing for soldierly deeds was not confined to the men. The love of the

Maria Alférez is a young lady of noble birth from Biscay who runs away from her Convent dresses some time as a page, then as a soldier, in Spain and America distinguishing herself enough to gain an ensignship. Finally she makes known her sex to a Bishop who places her in a convent, from which a little later she gains permission to depart, and is received with great admiration in Spain and Italy.

The story abruptly ends in the midst of a quarrel which the heroine had provoked, she having obtained permission to continue wearing a soldier's costume.

The question arises as to the authenticity of this story. It is certain that in 1618 to 1625 appeared some broadside publications about the Maria Alférez, in which the greater part of her history was told,[138] and that plays were written in her honor.[139] It is claimed

that the Life was published in 1625, but no copy of it is known to exist at present. Ferrer del Rio edited it from a manuscript[140] (in 1829), which once belonged to Trigueros, the well-known falsifier of inscriptions. We might suppose that the Life would have been reprinted at some time, because the story is curious and of a class that could not fail to hold public favor. All these considerations make the doubt justified concerning its being a genuine production. No such questions arise in connection with

XV. The Comentarios del Desengañado by D. Diego Duque de Estrada.

This is an authentic autobiography, by a person well-known in history, though some parts of the account of his doings have not been confirmed as yet by contemporary documents. A nobleman of high rank,

skilled in all the accomplishments which in his time constituted the equipment of a cavalier, sensitive enough as to points of honor to kill on slight suspicion; undaunted even among the horrible tortures that a corruptible judge inflicts upon him; gambling, fighting with everybody who provokes his anger; especially proud of his strength and dexterity in swords, manship, a good soldier when in the field; a bad reprobate when the country does not demand his services; a poet, composing plays with facility, and boasting of the success they achieved — such was the man whose life, written by the author himself, is a remarkable commentary on all the literature of the period. The work has not exercised an influence upon that literature, for it was unknown to the public until recent years. When it was published as an

historical document. However, it should rank with the picaresque novel, for here and there it seems that the author adorned his tale to suit his convenience. The account of what we now consider reprehensible deeds also inspires the author, when in his old age he writes down his experiences, with a sort of conjunction in which I am disposed to detect more regret for the happy times of his feats and pleasures than pangs of conscience and contrition. If the name had been disguised and the book had been published two hundred and fifty years ago, it would have achieved fame as a novel, for as such it reads; we would have admired the power of invention of the writer, and his intimate knowledge of institutions his fearless in exposing existing evils and his captivating style, in which everything superfluous is

Quevedo. Had published in the Low Countries
was composed, it would have perhaps given
a somewhat different turn to picaresque
literature which was gradually beginning
to deal with characters still lower and
circumstances still more disgusting than those
that had inspired Lozano and his immediate
successors. The greatest satirist of Spain
gave us a great novel of the picaresque
order but his resources of language, of
style and of wit are not sufficient to make
acceptable the repulsive parts of the
XVI. Historia de la Vida del Buscon,
by Quevedo.

Quevedo was particularly fond of Contrast
and his works ranging from the most exalted
subjects, of religion and statesmanship, to the
most scurrilous and obscene, are expressive
of his wonderful mind; and his command

of Language, in which he has not been equalled by any other Spanish author, is the Thesaurus of all those who attempt to go from his beginning, and the rock upon which are shattered all his imitators. When a Student he must have been the most typical of his Comrades, combining the highest aspirations and the purest tastes possessed of great powers of work and of perception: storing his memory equally with the Wisdom of the Classics and the conceits of his Contemporaries, with the exhortations of the Church fathers and the ribaldry of the Vascal. It is assumed that in those Student days he Composed the Buscon[143], but not until twenty years later, in the midst of official occupations, did he give it to the World, who appreciated the work as not even the most sanguine could have hoped, editions succeeding editions

in uninterrupted series until our day. With all classes does the Busean mingle and unmercifully does he show the wretched state of affairs that prevailed everywhere. Wit is sparkling in almost every page, but when the hero relates how he was cheated in the expectations of his uncle[144] a modern reader turns away, and wonders how so much misery and depravity could ever have been a source of delectation to thousands of readers.

Though a second part is not explicitly promised we should expect one when the story ends with Pablos going to the Indies, where his bad instincts never desert him; the account of what he saw and did there would have been another proof of Quevedo's learning and talent, for only by study could he have been enabled to satirize the Spanish life and people in the Indies.

The fact that the Vida de Pablo

Literature was taking up a new tendency marked by the circumstance that only a production of closer and daily life Cassell passed through a great number of editions. Other authors wrote remarkable books of the picaresque class, but they never attained great fame. Though some of them deserved more consideration than they had. Only when a novel way of writing proved the happy invention of an author, did the public show its appreciation, of which we have a striking example in the case of the

XVII. Guzman d'Alfarache, by Lesage

The author had attained popularity by a former work which had passed through many editions, and had been a new departure in literature as being chiefly devoted to the narration of love-adventures, told in a language which was already receiving the recognition

it was destined to hold Cater as the ideal in literary style. To a modern reader the Guzmán, such is the name of the work, is wearisome, as well for the long succession of lose efforts as also for the studied mode of expression; but critics are inclined to overlook these defects because of the novelty of the subject — one that had not been attempted thus far in Spanish prose, and which was a step in advance toward a novel that should conduct to the least a place in prose literature by the side of the purest.[145]

With these antecedents the Pindaro appeared. The author tells here of his falling in with the hero, who relates to him the history of his stupendous adventures. The society of these characters would satisfy the most fastidious taste; the language of the tale is sober prose, interlarded with

love-letters in the most flowery style, so that all readers might find their tastes suited. We pass, as we read, through many Countries, through pleasures and horrors, through battles and through prisons; we associate with Crandeo and join [illegible] with [illegible] incidents.

The public, however, did not like the book, and editions of it are rare.[146] Of course the appearance of Quevedo's Buscon had to do with the lack of interest displayed for the Pícaro, but the falling off in public favour of the picaro unless his adventures were already enough to stimulate a depraved appetite, seems to date from about this time. Another proof of this is the fact that the XVIII. Raimundo de Entrenetido, by Calderona,[147] though for some time fathered upon so less worthy an author than Quevedo himself,

did not awaken interest; and the little book has sunk into an oblivion which it does not deserve, containing as it does an interesting account of the way in which a rascal, pícaro or embustero, spends his day. It is one of the very best picaresque novels of this time, which offered also the novelty of dealing in the main with the adventures of roguish and unscrupulous women, did not find favor with the public.

XIX. Teresa, Trapaza and the Gerdueña[87], by Castillo Solórzano.[148]

These three, the last of which is a continuation to the second, were written and published in rapid succession and due mostly their place high in the appreciation of those who esteem a literary work in spite of the adverse judgment of the arbiters of the time. These works were imitated in part

by a judicious reader like Lesage,[152] and one of them was continued in the best specimen of picaresque literature that Portuguese authors have produced,[153] and in spite of all this praise they were not popular with the public. So great was this lack of popular esteem that many bibliographers were not even aware of the existence of the Trapaza, a book which, by its very name, should have attracted attention,[154] and which richly deserves its title; for trickery and deception are felicitously spread in it and well-known characters of the time form the background of some of the impersonations of the rascally hero.[155]

The Teresa is also well worth a reading, even a careful study, for nowhere else in Spanish literature do we find a more lifelike and unbiassed account of the circumstances in which the actresses lived in this epoch,

while the Carducha, the worthy daughter of Trapaya, Cheato in Lucino Negrisco with a still that is hardly matched by Cyprian himself.

To the Teresa a continuation was promised, as also to the Carducha, part of which never appeared. The former would have been more interesting than the latter, since it was intended to deal with Mexico & Cases of Insanity that is frequently met in Picaresque works, but are never treated exhaustively enough to satisfy us. Except in the celebrated letters of the Caballero de la Tenaza, by Quevedo. Here, however, the subject becomes farcical in view of sufficiently authoritative to be considered as a treatise on the matter.

It is to be noted also, that Castillo still used the autobiographic form in the Teresa, discarding it in both the Trapaya and

the Cantón, the first time since Cervantes' Rinconete y Cortadillo. The custom of making the hero relate the story was not however discontinued; the only specimens of really picaresque literature that belong to succeeding literature after this date, followed the old established form, and though the influence of the long succession of literary works that have been noticed, is felt in later prose productions, these productions themselves cannot be considered as belonging to the picaresque order.

Several years elapsed before a real picaresque novel appeared again: when this novel did appear it was as a part of a larger work which is more a literary curiosity, than a work of art.

XX. The Siglo Pitagórico, by Enríquez Gómez. 187

As the title would indicate, this work is the account which a soul gives of its

various transmigrations - an artifice of literary treatment which the author of El Entremés had already adopted before this. The greater part of the work is written in easy verse, each embodiment constituting a separate satire upon a class of society especially the higher orders. The story, however, of the soul's existence in the body of Gregorio Guadaña is in prose and constitutes the section that more immediately concerns us. This section does not rank high as a literary production, since the adventures of the hero are nothing new and offer no attraction after all the scrapes through which Guzman and Rojas, the Donado and Trapaza had passed, while the witticisms are shallow, prone to borke to the extreme, and even in certain cases extending it over several pages.[158] I must however to [illegible] attention to one short passage which is peculiarly the property of this story. Where

in all the best of picaresque literature we never find a trace of pity for those whose suffering might be the price of the pícaro's comfort, in the Guadaña we notice the line: "it is better to be wrong and humane, than right and rigorous."[157] This sentiment is exceptional as is also the generality of the author, who was of Jewish origin and, to insure his safety, had left the country, where in later years he was burnt in effigy at the stake. He is an author of no mean rank, especially in dramatic productions. Le Sage, who knew what was good in Spanish literature made use of some parts of the vigia Fitagórico for his Diable Boiteux. He did even more in regard to the next work we shall consider, the

XXI. Esteranillo González.

Le Sage seems to have highly esteemed this work, for after translating it into French,

[161] In battle scenes King is not a poor writer in accord with the plan of a novel, he embodied important passages of it in his masterpiece. I cannot help considering the importance of Esterwalls as greatly overestimated. The fact that various battles of the Thirty Years' War are here described is considered by some writers a great point in its favor; [162] whether however the author was competent to pose as an historian may well be doubted when we observe the general unsoldierly tone of his story. A more consummate Cavard, according to his own confession, it would be difficult to find in literature, and though the purpose of writing of his demeanor in battle must have been to entertain the reader it is impossible that a European should have distinguished himself in the field or been able to judge of military affairs.

Nor do we, furthermore, gather new

information concerning the life of the Soldiers; their gambling propensities fill all picaresque literature and the manner in which they live at the expense of the Country is not so characteristic as the scenes in earlier works where we learn of the excesses committed by them against their own Countrymen.[163] If we add to these considerations that the author likes to make a show of his capacity as a poet, and produces some so-called satirical verses of the most labored kind, to say nothing of a poem without the letter O; that he considers the play upon words the summum of wit, and the Euphuistic language as particularly adapted to the expression of sorrow over the death of his patron there is little left that is favorable to the book, which, in spite of its defects, met with a better reception from the public than others of its class, and has

have then once been reprinted while other more meritorious stories were forgotten.

With the scanty time at your disposal and the history of the pícaro in Spanish literature, were it not that from time to time an avowed imitator had undertaken to write either his own life for the amusement of the public, or availed himself of the picaresque form to moralize upon circumstances and conditions which he did not favor.

It may be asked why I did not include Lope's Dorotea[165] in my enumeration of picaresque works. Without laying much stress upon the dramatic form of the work, because it was not intended for representation, the subject seems to me to exclude it from a place in the class I have treated. It is a introspective account of some love affairs

by the God Love himself, in which he had borne himself far from society and which, falling in his early youth, had filled all his life with a fond regret for the bitter pleasures they had afforded him. The model for the work was clearly Celestina with whom the Lozana has unmistakable traits in common, and the perfection of Rojas's only dramatic work in prose makes us regret that he should always have preferred verse when writing for the stage.

But though Don Fernando, in which character Love himself appears before us, is unscrupulous enough to pass as a pícaro, his purpose is to be successful in Love, and not to earn his livelihood by all means whatever, honesty excepted. And this being the distinctive character of the pícaro, the Dorotea cannot be classed a piece with the stories that make him their hero.

The Peripatia of Mr Cao Gallicano[166] does not come in for a place in picaresque literature, for it is a series of moralizing speeches that Peripatia, a young person almost too good for this world, makes to another young man who had sought his opinion on matters of good behaviour. The author, himself, has it said elsewhere, as we have already shown in several other writings which constitute some of the most valuable documents concerning the life and habits of the second half of the Seventeenth Century,[167] but he lacked the imagination and the fondness for the picturesque wickedness of the lower classes that animate the novels we have thus far considered.

The Story of Don Fruela, by Cspirdó,[168] is as curious as it is difficult to find. We read there of several practical jokes played upon a stupid and pretentious man,

Indies are the hero with a relish that the reader irresistibly shares. It would deserve a study to determine wherein Carvajal Roman Comique is indebted to Quirós for some of his ludicrous situations but the picaresque element is absent in every regard.

The picaro had gone from literature, but he rose to higher rank, transforming himself from the ragged scamp he used to be into the shape and garb of the Courtier. Alberoni and Ripperda show us that buccaneering and trickstering at cards were figures of the past: to vice to meanness, more pliability, to the whims of others and less independence to appearances was demanded in the new era.

In a humbler sphere than these two we, meet with Montero, the picaro still retained some of his disregard for proprieties. Nothing better characterizes the state of Spain in the

Eighteenth Century than the fate of

XXII. Diego de Torres y Villarroel.

Born of honest and hardworking parents, he attended for several years the University of Salamanca, devoting all his time to playing tricks on the citizens of this university town, and to acquiring habilidades, such as dancing, music and masquerading. Thus fitted for the struggle of life, he leaves away when about eighteen years of age, intending to go to Portugal. On the way he hears a hermit and stays with him for a time. When his evil doings make it impossible for him to continue there he goes to Coimbra, poses as physician and dancing master, achieves great fame in both professions, but has to leave again for fear of the consequences of his incorrigible habits.

Having spent his earnings, he enlists as a soldier, deserts after a year's service, and

returns home. There he reads some antiquated books on abstruse subjects, especially on Mathematics and after six months of such preparation he begins to make almanacks which achieve great popularity on account of their ambiguous prognostications and punny pretense at predicting.

In order to free his name from the obloquy of witchcraft which his predictions had gained for him, he asks Jemiccius to open a Course in Mathematics in the University, and this was the first time in more than a Century that this Science was taught there. While he contemplates entering the Clergy a riot arises among the Students; he participates in it and spends six months in prison.

Being released he goes to Madrid, where he suffers great poverty, until a doctor induces him to study medicine. So he spends a month in learning by heart a textbook on the subject, passes

some days in the hospital, obtains for his father an official position in Salamanca, and starts out with a priest on a smuggling expedition. Having gone to great trouble to free a nobleman's house from mysterious noises, he is rewarded by a position in this household where he continues to issue his almanacks.

He is advised to return to Salamanca and apply for the professorship in Mathematics. Academic positions being in those days dependent upon the votes of the students he makes a parade demonstration of learning and impudence, obtains the favorable decision of the voters, and is officially made Professor of Mathematics. In this new position he is very popular, and great numbers attend his courses for the sake of the jokes they expect of him; at the same time he succeeds in maintaining order in his lecture-room by throwing a heavy compass at the head of

the first student who behaves disrespectfully. Five years he is a professor, in which capacity he contrives to play his foolish tricks, taking part in masquerades that mock the University proceedings; at the end of this period he is exiled on the accusation of being instrumental in a brawl quarrel with a priest.

After being in exile in France and in Portugal he obtains permission to return to Salamanca, where he writes his life, of which five editions are sold in three months. In the meantime he becomes involved in various polemics, and to establish his orthodoxy has himself ordained priest. He continues to write almanacs and numerous other little productions, all of which he carefully enumerates in successive editions of his autobiography. He also mentions certain pieces of [illegible] that seem to have filled him with pride because of his skill in producing them.

At his request, in spite of the opposition of the University authorities, he is made an Emeritus and in this capacity becomes administrator of the property of some noble families and historian of the University library at Salamanca. Having placed all this on record, he takes leave of the public with an edition of his Complete Works, in fourteen volumes, the last of which is his Completed biography, and leaves us to wonder at such astounding adventures, which would seem too fantastic for a novel and yet are true history — the most characteristic piece of literature that the Eighteenth Century has produced in Spain.

Shortly after the appearance of the first instalment of Torres' autobiography another professor proceeded to write his life history, in imitation of Torres.

This author [illegible]

XXIII. Gómez Arias,

and the passages which Gallardo[170] gives from this translation show that the writer tried to imitate Lucan in forming a classical text. As this little book is extremely rare, I have no further knowledge of it than the mention by Gallardo. The fact of its existence is brought forward here to show that imitators were always ready to take any hint as to how to please the public, and that the Pícaro, though he still existed in several unexpected transformations, no longer was able to occupy for years the most important place as a subject for the inspiration of novelistas.

The Eighteenth Century saw Spanish likenesses given to servile imitation of the worst specimens of French dramatic art. In prose comedy Fecit and Vela occupy a high place, the latter writing his famous Fray

Cormelio — a bitter satire on the absurd mannerisms to which preachers of his time resorted in order to please their audiences. By his translation of Gil Blas[174] he revealed to his countrymen the fact that beyond the Pyrenees Spanish literature was considered worthy of imitation. It may be said that with this consummate translation of Gil Blas the novela picaresca was resuscitated, for the question as to the originality of this famous novel has indeed literary men to review impartially the whole field of Spanish prose-writing. Discovering many beauties at every step and detecting, unfortunately, traits of the priority of invention of the pícaro as the father of the modern novel.

Besides Feba there were a few novelists of a certain merit who wrote satires upon the condition of political affairs and the manners of the higher classes. Of those who chose

the former subject we may mention D. Fernando Gutierrez de Vegas[175]; his novel, Los Eureos de un Lugar, is a bitter attack upon the scoundrels who by their intrigues bring perpetually towns to ruin and desolation. A mild satire upon the manners of the period is the book called Viages de Enrique Wanton[176] the first half of which is a translation from the Italian; the latter part, however, is an original production of the same author and relates for many pages in customs not [illegible] elsewhere.

Both these authors, however, can hardly be ranked with the writers of picaresque novels, for we do not read of adventures, of wanderings in various garbs and disguises, of thieving and [illegible]. Of these class the Vida de Periko del Campo[177] a picaresque story of little merit which moreover belongs to French literature, having been translated, or as the translator claims

"restored to its original language" towards the end of the Eighteenth Century.

A little while earlier than this appeared a book called <u>Aventuras de Juan Lucio</u>[178] which would be picaresque if it were anything. Nothing happens in the whole story; no adventure, no trick, no joke lights up the dreariness of this most insipid of all books that ever came into my hands, and which is mentioned here only to warn against the purchase of its three hundred and twenty-eight pages.

In our century Spain has recovered from its long literary sleep, and in the classic land of the <u>pícaro</u>, his adventures have again been told. I do not class here[179] the curious little book <u>Libro de Aguapie</u> which, interesting though it be, describes the history of a Cogers, dare personage of Aragon, and is mainly inter-

ded to give a novelistic form to the numerous traditions of that Country, some of which are familiar in the folklore of other lands. The real picaresque novel was revived in the Stormy revolutionary days, when there appeared

XXIV. Gil Perez de Marchamalo by Montalvo.[181]

Neil Munro, some years ago, dealing through familiarity with the conditions in which the hero moves, other than the dramatic and studied to be more than the author's conception of what may have happened in certain circumstances — in this book we have the autobiographic account of a young, bright, unscrupulous man's vicissitudes, and of his rise from the humble state of a messenger and market-vendor to the elevated position of a Dignitary and a Minister of the Crown. Realizing at the outset that Scruples are a hindrance to advancement, he avails himself of all the means that our century

offers to those who know how to turn these means to good account.

When by sly tricks he has obtained a small sum that enables him to dress becomingly, he gets a place on the staff of a newspaper; there his violent attacks on the party in power draw attention. The favoritism of friends helps him to a subordinate position in a government office, which he loses as a result of his newspaper-work. Posing then as a hero and a martyr to his principles, he is made director of another newspaper, in which quality he is on the list of the highest bidder, and for efficient service his servant comes in the shape of a Commandeship.

This new creation gives him an opportunity to acquire wealth by conniving with dishonest administrators. He is elected to the Cortes, where his skillful oratory makes him a person of

importance, so much so that finally he reaches the height of his ambition becoming a Minister. Of course the Ministry is soon overthrown, and in this emergency our hero meets a distinguished Prelate who shows him the vanity of all his past ambition, so that Gil Blas reconciles himself to his fate, resignedly distributing to the poor his ill-gotten gains and withdrawing to a small Country-town, to lead in retirement a more useful and undisturbed life.

This is the course of the modern *pícaro*, and the political history of the Country offers many personages whose names might figure on the title-page of our novel, or represent many of the subordinate characters in the story. The only one for whom history offers no parallel is D. Roberto the one, who has himself elected to the Cortes only to speak the truths that everybody knows and no one re-

gard, to exhort the representatives of the Country to do their duty in stead of being led by party considerations and the desire for their own profit.

Alas! it is the fate of [illegible] literature to excite indignation only among those who are powerless to remedy the evils that give rise to such novels; the success of the unscrupulous heroes of these books, and of their prototypes in Society, only stimulates others to follow their examples. The warning that lies in the downfall of the unjust is unheeded, where everyone thinks himself clever enough to avoid the retribution that overtakes only the unwary.

A book like the Marchamalo is a literary record of the insincerity of modern Spanish political personages, but no immediate contribution to our knowledge of the times. As such, the newspapers and their history are sufficiently edifying, and to them the student of manners

and customs will turn for information. And even the literary man places the modern picaresque novel on his shelves only as a résumé of the social history of the period, one phase of which it cleverly portrays and submits for commentation by the dry facts presented in the daily records.

Greater masters in the field of novelistic writing have reproduced parts of our century's history in the form of assumed autobiographies of a fictitious person. The

XXV. Memorias de un Cortesano de 1815, by Pérez Galdós, constitute a lively account of those eventful days, when the stubborn contest was waged between the autocratic rule of former centuries and the liberal aspirations of minds awakened by the national struggle against Napoleon's invading armies. That the author chose a courtier for his hero was done in order to show the in-

trigging and selfish narrowmindedness of this class, now on the verge of losing their prerogatives and centering all to withstand the current that is to sweep them from their exalted place. In representing this side of the question, now settled, the story deserves our interest, though otherwise the lack of stirring events, such as give life to the numerous other volumes of the great series called Episodios Nacionales makes it one of the least entertaining of the author's works.

Much more eventful, brimming as with dramatic incidents, and written in the powerful style peculiar to the author, is

XXVI. Pedro Sánchez by Pérez.

This novel, one of the author's best, is the history of the experiences a young man gathered in the days of the revolution of 1854. Having come to Madrid in the hope of finding

protection in a prominent personage, he is left to make his own way. In a newspaper office he rises to distinction, and achieves great fame in the revolt, in consequence of which he rapidly advances, even to a governorship, which advancement is due in part to the support the aforementioned personage now sees fit to bestow upon him, together with the hand of his ambitious daughter. The end of the hero's political life comes when he discovers how he is made the instrument of machinations and has been betrayed by his wife for the sake of upholding her social rank. Then he withdraws from the field, and retires to his native place to lead the life of an enlightened farmer.

This being in brief the plot of the story, the author finds in his memory delightful scenes of quiet domestic happiness; of an anxious father's solicitude for his son's advancement; of

a young Bravo Murcians in the Madrid of half a century ago; of literary meetings with such men as Breton, Ayala, Rubí and numerous lesser lights of the stormy days of the revolution; of the animated aspect of the city previous to that event, and the seething passions at the time of the struggle; of the Country town and its rascally administrators; of expensive social functions in the Governor's mansion, and of a haughty woman who sacrifices everything to her shallow desire for show and recognition.

Of all the works we have thus far considered, Pereda's novel is the masterpiece. His hero is not a direct descendant of the Lazarillo, Guzmano and Buscon; his positivity, enthusiasm and willingness to sacrifice himself to his lucky star no relation to the motives that animate the ragged, thieving and selfish personages of the Seventeenth Century novel.

But he acquaints us frankly with many bad traits of his own character: his lack of sincerity in his correspondence with his father; his indulgence in questionable associations and pleasures; his neglect of worthy friends for the sake of moving in the best society; his mad ardor in the popular uprising; his blindness to many evident wrongs. When in his official position; his revengeful spirit when he is betrayed; his satisfaction when punishment falls upon those who had wronged him.

All this, written as a supposed autobiography, is a satire upon the ambitious, who in their strife for advancement pass, unthinking, by their real happiness, and meet the punishment of their thoughtlessness. It is a satire also upon the official persons who upheld Lauds at the expense of their honesty; upon the young men who in their quest of pleasure relax the

strictness of their principles; upon the stupidity of the populace in their outbursts of wrath, and upon the inhabitants of cities who have no understanding of the advantages of learned life.

From this mode of treatment of his subject, it is necessary to class Pedro Sánchez with the pícaros of earlier times and his history with picaresque literature. The book like this, a typical modern novel, is full demonstration of the influence which this peculiar sort of writings has exercised upon that epic of modern times which we call the Roman de Moeurs.

I might here appropriately close this summary review of picaresque Spanish literature were it not that there are certain phases of modern Spanish life that have found expression in works which, though barely descr

ving the dignity of being considered literary, merit notice in account of their showing the imperturbable picaro in unexpected surroundings, showing again the Proteus-like adaptability of this class to all conditions that may offer a chance of thriving without work. When the Spanish Republic of 1868 proclaimed the liberty of religion and of creed, various Protestant sects set about to de-catholicize the people who, so they imagined, would welcome the modern missionary who was to free them from the bonds in which they had for centuries been confined. It is a matter of history that many well-meaning representatives of these several Protestant creeds became confiding victims of clever rascals who availed themselves of the opportunity to put into their own pockets an important part of the money lavishly promised for higher purposes. When the movement no

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longer offered profit to such pretended converts, they withdrew from it and some of them put on paper their experiences, in the hope of gaining thereby further advantages. The "Dr" Gago[185] and the worthy Don produced writings of this kind, which soon fell into the oblivion they deserved, but which may in the course of time, be followed by further like material, when the occasion again arises for the *pícaro* to assert himself.

For the *pícaro* is not dead. As long as a reward is held out for the unscrupulous, there will be found persons willing to earn it; as long as the public is willing to read accounts of the doings of such persons, these accounts will be written; as long as the autobiographic form is thought a fit dress for these histories, new contributions to picaresque literature will appear. Let us hope

that Spain, where so many rascals have been the heroes of works of art, may find only authors of high rank inclined to add new material to a future History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain.

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Many of the books which it has been my task to review in the course of this study, and with the promise of a continuation of their respective stories[187], and it will not seem out of place, perhaps, if I should do likewise in concluding this literary sketch.

Picaresque literature is a mine of information concerning the habits, customs, ways of thinking, of dressing, of eating and drinking, of seeking diversion, of traveling, etc., of all classes in Spain during the time of the Austrian Hapsburgs; a study of this literature ought to include a sort of encyclopaedia of our

knowledge so far as it can be gathered from these sources.

Such a work would constitute a treatise of greater magnitude than the mere review of the books in question, and would naturally become a task of much patience and much time, necessitating the arrangement by heads of all the short and longer notices found in the great number of works which it has been my pleasure to enumerate. I can thus only leave for a future time an attempt to supplement the study of the literary aspect of the subject before us by a treatment of what our German friends call the Kulturgeschichtliche. May this opportunity not be far distant!

Note on

An Outline of the History of the

Vedic Period in India

1. F. Wolf (Jahrbücher der Literatur, Wien, 1818, vol. 22, p. 99) : die Ironie wurde schon durch die Wahl eines Industrieritters, Vagabunden oder Gauners (Picaro) zum Helden und Träger der Geschichte hervorgerufen; die Satyre aber durch die aus der Picardie entstandenen Lächerlichkeiten und Laster der Gesellschaft, und da sich diese Gattung auch in die höhere privilegirte eindrängte, so konnte auch diese indirect und daher mit weit mehr Freiheit angegriffen und gegeißelt werden.

A. Morel-Fatio (Préface to La Vie de Lazarille de Tormès, Paris, 1886, p. II.) : Deux procédés ont concouru à la formation de ce genre : le récit autobiographique et la satire des travers contemporains.

Tickner does not give a direct definition.

2. Navarrete (Bosquejo histórico sobre la Novela Española, p. LXVII) : El verdadero padre de los libros

picarescos pues el Lazarillo de Tormes.

F. Wolf (l.c., p. 99): -- die Dichtung vom Schelmenromane stande in einer Entfaltung, und Ausbildung, deren reiche Mannichfaltigkeit, dasse glauben ihr Prototyp in Meisterwerke war. Wir haben damit das so berühmt gewordene "Leben des Lazarillo de Tormes" genannt.

Ch. Perrat-Fabia (l.c., p. II) L'histoire littéraire voit à juste titre dans notre roman le premier type de la nouvelle picaresque; elle fait du Lazarillo le père de toutes ces grossieries.

M. Menéndez y Pelayo (Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles, vol. II, p. 518): el Lazarillo de Tormes, príncipe y cabeza de la novela picaresca entre nosotros.

3. Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua Castellana (first edition 1611; reprint 1674) sub voce:

Pícaro, vide supra picaño. -- esclavos. Y aunque los picaros no lo sean, particular, de

nadie, sino de la Republica para todos los que
los quieren dignitar, empadronados en estos vilos.
Picaño, el andrajoso, y despedaçado.

4. Diccionario de la Academia Española, vol. V,
1737, sub voce:
Pícaro, ra, adj. Baxo, ruin, doloso, falto de
honra y vergüença. Lat. ignobilis, nequam.
Pícaro. Significa tambien astuto, taimado, y
que con arte y disimulacion logra lo que
desea. Lat. Callidus, astutus, vafer.
ibid. Picaño, ña, adj. Pícaro, bellaco, andra-
joso y de poca vergüença.

7. Guzman (Ric., vol. III, p. 219, b): Empecaron los
vigas pícaros tarmellos.

ibid. -- acomodéme a llevar los cargos que
podian sufrir mis hombros. Carga es la cofradía
de los ciegos, mas han querido admitir á los
hombres en ella... mas hay hombres tan viles
que se la quitan del lomo y la cargan sobre sí.

7. ibid. (p. 220, a): sin otro algun instrumento, mas de una hoz ó zapaleta.

8. (Riv. vol. I, p. 128, a; p. 129, a): muy descosidos, rotos y maltratados; --- la ventera admirada de la buena crianza de los pícaros.

9. (Riv. vol. I, p. 168, b): mostraba Carriazo ser un pupilero en sus obras: a tiro de ballesta en mil señales descubria un bien nacido -- en Carriazo vió el mundo un pícaro virtuoso, limpio, bien criado.

10. (Riv. vol. I. p. 129, b): preguntándole al Maluciano que habian de comprar, les respondió que dentro costales pregones, limpios ó nuevos, y cada uno dos esportas de palma -- en las cuales se repar-tia la Carne, pescado y fruta, en el costal el pan.

ibid.: ni les descontentó el oficio, -- por la Comodi-dad que ofrecia de entrar en todas las casas.

11. El Averiguador Universal. Año primero. Madrid, 1879, (No. 254, p. 222,): Pícaros. En las relaciones municipales de una antigua Ciudad de España

redactados en el Siglo XVI, se dice: "No había en la ciudad más que doce pícaros y doce gamapanes, y para distinguirse usarán los gamapanes caperuza, gorra bermeja, y los pícaros caperuza verde." El diccionario de la Academia no define lo que, según parece por las referidas ordenanzas, debía ser un oficio de la república.

12. Ibid. (p. 340): Creo que la cuestión propuesta queda suficientemente dilucidada con decir que, según el diccionario de Salvá, significaba antiguamente pícaro el "muchacho que está con su capotillo en la plaza para llevar los recados que le den."

13. Lope, Dorotea de la Calan, Jornada I, line 360. 791.

14. Covarrubias, l.c., sub voce: "Gamapan, este nombre tienen los que gastan su vida, y el pan que comen, y que trae trabajando! à ultimas ocasiones, y tiene los hombros las cargas... y aunque todos los que trabajan para comer podrían tener este nombre, estos se alegan con él, por ganar el pan con [illegible]

trabajo, y mucho Cansancio, y sudor: y assi por nombre mas honesto los llaman hermanos del trabajo, y en algunos lugares los llaman los de la palanca, [illegible] Cavallos suelen entre dos llevar un gran peso -- ninguna cosa dà cuydado al ganapan, no cura de honra, y assi de ninguna cosa se afrenta: no se le dà nada de andar mal vestido, y roto, y assi no le excluta el mercader -- come en el bodegon el mejor pocado, y bebe en la taberna donde se vende el mejor vino, y con esso passa la vida contento, y alegre.

15. Guzman (Riv. III, p. 219, b; 220, a) Comencé à tratar el oficio de la florida picardía; la vergüenza que tuve perdila por los Caminos; era bocado sin hueso, ocupacion holgada, y libre de todo género de pesadumbre.

16. En Salvà Catálogo, 1872, vol. II, no. 1864. Hae posea io mentionâ ao folium.

La vida del pobre Compuesta por pallado estilo en

tercera vina, por el dichosísimo y bienafortunado Capitán Longuero de Angulo Regidor perpetuo de la hermandad picaril en la Ciudad de Vina, de la Provincia del Rio, Sacada á luz por el mesmo Autor, á peticion de los Confrades de la dicha Ciudad. Para el fin las Ordenanças picarilles por el mesmo Autor.

Valencia, junto al molino de la Ronella, 1001.

8°. 8 hojas.

Salvá (l.c.) adds to this that the Ordenanças are in prose. I have not been able to see this book, which though described in full by Salvá, is absolute by unknown to bibliographers except for this mention.

The poem La vida del pícaro was reprinted in: Cancillo de Torneo, edición hecha por J. M. Ferrer del Rio, Paris, 1827. (pp. 149-165). The edita [illegible] and says that it is ascribed to Mendoza on account of its style.

From a text different from that Ferrer compiled him,

de ejemplares impresos en la Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses, Sección Literaria vol. I. Rimas de Pedro Liñan de Riaza, Zaragoza 1876, pp. 89-90.

I wish here to express thanks to Prof. H. Wood for his kindness in allowing me to transcribe the poem from his Copy of Ferrer's Laguillo.

The passage that was open my subject is as follows:

Vivian de Canasto y de cocinas,
Xigo de esparragos bien tocados,
a ginteras, barato, y ratiños: ---
El mas pintado y grave no se aloja
menos en las cantinas del Bolejo,
que á tiro de arcabuz mas vino arroja.
-- Hay no Conde jamas de ganar mia,
de gran matalotaje atarragada,
y al vicio para el huesped pollo ó polla.
-- No admite derrenedo ni dinero
fuben de Setuja, borregnicos ó Cigas --
-- Tu, pícaro --

no sabeis que es jarana mi hermanico,
porque la enfermedad del cuerpo limpia
del cuerpo que provenga vicio y vicio.
-- por hambre ha de morir, aunque le pese,
el que á lo pícaril no se anihila.
-- ¡ O, pícaro amigo Don Ignacio,
cofrades del placer y de la anchura
que libertad llamaban los franceses!... etc.

17. Covarrubias, sub voce; Academia, sub voce.
18. Körting, Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch, sub voce.
19. At Carmona Cancio- picaro with pica for the following reasons.

pica a lance. The pícaro is nowhere mentioned as being anything but a lazy fellow, who likes idle work, and only labours a little bit, from necessity. To his outfit a pica did not belong. The soldiers who carried a pica in war were often in Covarrubias' time called picqueros (see Covarrubias sub voce pica) and as this was very laborious

in -ero are made from words in -a changing the accent from the penult of the original word to the -e- of -ero.

Of verbs like picar the derivative is in -ador as we have fr. incl. picador from picar: picador; salvar: salvador etc. Picar moreover does not mean "to pick up" as Körting (l.c.) wants to have it. The nearest it comes to a like meaning is: to prick a hole in (a thing, a fruit, a stone etc.)

20. Körting, ibid.

21. First printed in Cartas de Eugenio de Salazar, por D. Pascual de Gayangos. Madrid 1864. (vol. I of the publications of the Bibliófilos españoles); again in Eugenio de Ochoa, Epistolario español, vol. II Madrid 1870 (Riv. vol 62)

This is the II "en que se trata de los Cata, riberos" bears the date: Toledo, April 15th 1560. At that time he was thoroughly acquainted with this class of people (about which he also

Romania, III, 301.] Wrote one letter, numbered I in the edition, was written shortly after his arrival at the Capitol

23. "El henchimiento y autoridad de la Corte es cosa muy de ver. --- y como no todo el edificio fuese de buena Cantería de piedra escuadrada fuerte y bien labrada, sino que en algunas partes de la de mezcla mucho cascajo, guijo y callaos, así en esta región como en las demás partes del ángulo hay mucha broza y turronada de bellacos, perdidos, facinerosos, homicidas, ladrones, capeadores, tahures, fulleros, engañadores, embaucadores, adulatores, regatones, falsarios, rufianes, pícaros vagamundos, y otros malhechores tan amigos de hacer mal como lo era Cinna el de Roma -- de no hacer bien."

24. Libro de Cuentas del Arcipreste de Hita. in Rivadeneyra, vol. 57, p. 277. Copias 1593-1595.

-- un rapido trainél,

Iturran habia por nombre, apostado Oroncel,
Si non por quatorze cosas nunca vi mejor que él.
Era ardidoso delante, cabdo e mesurero,
Tajon, peleador, sofrido, sofridor,
Remidor, et alcanzino, sucio, et agorero,
Nescio, perezoso, tal como mi escudero.
Dos dias en la selmana grand ayunador,
Quando no tenia que comer, ayunaba el pecador,
Siempre aquestos dias ayunaba mi andador,
Quando no podia al faser, ayunaba con dolor.

Étienne Jouvet, Epitre XXIX. Au Roy, pour avoir
cette Heredité. (p. 191 in vol. I of: Oeuvres Complètes
de Étienne Jouvet, par M. Pierre Pannel.
Paris. Imprim. et Flammarion. S.a.!:

J'avais un jour un vallet de Gascogne
Courmand, ivrogne, et asseuré menteur,
Pipeur, larron, larcin, blasphemateur,
Levant la hart de cent pas à la ronde,
Au demourant, le meilleur gars du monde.

26. Menendez y Pelayo, Prólogo to vol. III of the Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, Madrid 1892 p. 70: "El libro puede realmente denominarse: Cuando Juan Ruiz se refiere á él lo hace siempre en los términos más genéricos: trobas é cuento rimado; libro de buen amor; romance, por último, esto es, obra compuesta en lengua vulgar. Libro del Arcipreste de Hita le llama á veces el Marqués de Santillana.

27. The most thorough study of the A. B. M. is found in Menéndez y Pelayo's Prólogo to vol. III of the Antología de poetas líricos Castellanos, Chapter II, pp. CLIII - CCXIV., one of the most enjoyable and instructive pieces of criticism he has written. He quotes Sánchez (p. CVIII), Clarus and Wolf (CVIII - CIX) Puibusque Puymaigre and Ticknor (CX) all of whom agree to call the work a masterpiece whose opinion is shared by Amador de los Ríos (CX) and Menendez himself. Of Puibusque

Thata work of such importance has never been published
as it should be; the merely bibliographical requirements of a good edition
(I VIII) are certainly sufficient to cool the ardor of
the most determined admirer and prospective editor.

28. For a complete description of the MS. (Vatican, no.
4806.) and the editions [1531, 1561 (Valencia), 1561 (Barcelona), 1735, 1805] and a study of the contents
and historical background, see M. Morel-Fatio,
Rapport sur une mission philologique à Valence,
Paris 1885 (extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des
Chartes, Années 1884-85)

29. Milá y Fontanals: Discurso inaugural leído en
la apertura del curso de la Universidad de Barcelona de 1865 á 1866 (printed as introduction to:
De la poesía heróico-popular castellana por D. M. Milá y Fontanals, Barcelona 1874;
quoted by Gilbert y Rubio Discursos p. 19 note 2);
more explicit is the statement in the Obras Completas
de D. M. Milá y Fontanals (Barcelona 1890, vol. III,

pp. 402, note 68). Navagero [reference] at this juncture instructive, et qui contribua peut-être à la conception de la novela picaresca; while on pp. 214-219 he gives the contents of the Libro de los dones and arranges them so that they give the impression of a novela picaresca.

30. Navarrete, Bosquejo histórico, p. CXXX, note 1. Says: "se imprimió en Sevilla en 1554". But this is not the first edition. The editions are the following:

I. 1513. in fol. S. a. s. l. The proemio in Latin and Spanish is dated August 1st 1513. (According to Pellicer (Bibliotheca de Traductores, pp. 45-51) the translator, Diego Lopez de Cartagena whose name is concealed, after the fashion of the time, in some Latin sentences, was Archdeacon and Cardinal in 1515; he lived still in 1524, but nothing more is known about him. This translation is made after the Latin principe, Venetia, 1504, and agrees there, with it very closely.

II. 1536. Zamora, Tomaris, in fol.: Brunet, edition of 1860. I, 1. p. 366.

III. 1539, Zamora, Pedro Toran, in fol.: Brunet, ibid.

IV. 15[illegible]3. Instituta del Campo, Pedro de Castro, in 8vo. (on title: Corregida y enmendada but it is a reprint of the edition of 1513)

V. 1551. Anvers, Juan Steelsio, in 8° (Somerhart mentions it).

VI. 1559, Sevilla (Navarrete, l.c.)
In the same year it was ordered to be expunged in the Index of 1559, called Valdés Index, vid. Vol. 176 of the Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins: die Indices Libr. Prohib. des 16. Jahrh.

VII. 1584. (Alcalá Hernan Ramirez 8°.
(Expurgated: greatly curtailed)

VIII. Without place or date. Reprint of VII.

IX. 1601. Madrid, Pedro Sánchez 8° (Pellicer says it gives the name of the translator, but he is mistaken.

31. Viajes por España, vol. VIII of the Libro de Antaño Madrid 1879, p. 297: "Los españoles, lo mismo aquí [Alcalá la Real] que en el resto de España, no son muy industriosos ni cultivan ni benefician de buena voluntad la tierra, sino que ven de mejor gana á la guerra ó á las Indias para hacer fortuna por este camino más que por cualquier otro".

The passage is from the translation of the description of his journey to Spain, 1525-1528, by Andrea Navagiero, ambassador from Venice to Charles V.

32. It seems willingly impossible to give a complete list of editions of the Celestina, since some will escape notice. Even with all bibliographical means available at present one will find no editions given for certain years, while it is more than probable that a book of such popularity was printed at least once every year. When we

find some years with several editions.

The following list is as complete as I have been able to make it from various sources, viz:

Magnin, in Journal des Savans 843 p. 169.

F. Wolf, in Studien, 1859, p. 290, note.

Salvá, Catálogo, 1872, vol. I, p. 388-399.

Fainelli Spanien und die spanische Literatur im Lichte der deutschen Kritik und Poesie, Berlin 1892.

Brunet, Edition of 1860.

Tickner's Catalogue, Boston, 1879.

To these comes Quaritch's Bibliotheca Hispana (Cat. no. 148, London, February 1895) which describes some of the rarest editions that are recorded, however, the privilege of 1499 being offered for One hundred and forty-five pounds Sterling!

1. Burgos, 1499 (Quaritch)

(Medina del Campo 1499 mentioned by Antiban, note 2. p. XII of Riv. III, is not cited by anyone; its existence is doubted by Salvá, Brunet and others.)

2. Salamanca, 1500 (unknown, but mentioned by Valencia edition of 1514)
3. Sevilla, 1501 (Quantech)
4. Sevilla, 1502 (Haebler, Salvá, Quantech)
5. Salamanca, 1502 (Haebler, Salvá)
6. Toledo, 1502 (Quantech)
7. Sevilla, 1504 (Salvá, p. 336, doubts its existence, though the book is announced in the Catalogue of Gancedo)
8. Zaragoza, 1507 (Ribeiro, Salvá)
9. Valencia, 1514 (Haebler, Salvá)
10. Milan, 1514 (Haebler) } Salvá, l.c. says these two
11. Venice, 1514 (Haebler) } editions are Italian.
12. Valencia, 1518 (Quantech)
13. Sevilla 1520 (Haebler, Quantech; Salvá says it was made in Venice)
14. Sevilla 1525 (Haebler, Salvá)
15. Barcelona, 1525 (Salvá)
16. Venice, 1525 (Haebler; Salva 1530; in Italian)
17. Toledo, 1526 (Haebler, Salvá)
18. Sevilla, 1528 (Salvá)

19. Valencia 1529 (Haebler, Salvá)

20. Medina del Campo (about) 1530 (Salvá)

21. Barcelona, 1531 (Wolf)

22. Sevilla 1531 (Haebler, Salvá, Gallardo)

23. Burgos, 1531 (Salvá)

24. Venice, 1534 (Haebler, Salvá, Gallardo)

25. Sevilla, 1534 (Haebler, Salvá)

26. Venice, 1535 (Haebler; Salvá: in Italian)

27. Sevilla, 1536 (Haebler, Salvá)

28. Toledo, 1538 (Haebler, Salvá)

29. Cuenca, 1538 (Haebler, Salvá)

30. Sevilla, 1539 (Haebler, Salvá)

31. Antwerp, 1539 (Haebler, Salvá, Gallardo)

32. Lisbon, 1540 (Salvá)

33. Medina del Campo (1540?) (Haebler)

34. Zaragoza, 1545 (Haebler, Salvá)

35. Antwerp (about 1545) (Salvá, Gallardo)

36. Antwerp, 1545 (Haebler, Salvá)

37. Sevilla, 1550 (Wolf)

38. Venice, 1553 (Maguin, Salvá, Ghemitch)

39. Zaragoza, 1555 (Salvá)

40. Venice 1556 (Maguin; Salvá says: 1553, no. 38 under a different title)

41. Salamanca, 1558 (Maguin, Salvá)

42. Cuenca, 1561 (Salvá)

43. Barcelona, 1561 (Ghemitch)

44. Sevilla, 1562 (Salvá)

45. Alcalá, 1563 (Maguin, Salvá, Ghemitch)

46. Barcelona, 1566 (Maguin, Salvá)

47. Alcalá, 1569 (Maguin. Salvá says: the first two have the name Celestina, in stead of Tragicomedia)

48. Salamanca, 1569 (Maguin, Salvá)

49. Salamanca, 1570 (Maguin, Salvá)

50. Cuenca, 1571 (Maguin)

51. Toledo, 1573 (Maguin, Salvá)

52. Sevilla, 1575 (Maguin)

53. Salamanca, 1575 (Salvá)

54. Valencia, 1575 (Maguin, Salvá)

55. Alcalá, 1576 (Salvá)

56. Salamanca, 1577 (Wolf, Salvá)

57. Barcelona, 1585 (Wolf)

58. Alcalá, 1586 (Farinelli, Ticknor)

59. Antwerp, 1590 (Salvá)

60. Alcalá, 1591 (Wagner, Salvá)

61. Antwerp, 1595 (Wagner, Salvá)

62. Tarragona, 1595 (Salvá)

63. Antwerp, 1599 (Wagner, Salvá, Spanish)

64. Seville, 1599 (Salvá)

65. Antwerp 1601 (Wagner, Salvá)

66. Madrid 1601 (Wagner, Salva, Spanish)

67. Zaragoza, 1607 (Wagner, Salvá)

68. Madrid, 1619 (Wagner, Salvá)

69. Milan, 1622 (Salvá, Spanish)

70. Madrid, 1632 (Wagner, Salvá)

71. Pamplona, 1633 (Wagner, Salvá, Spanish and French)

72. Rouen, 1633-34 (Wagner, Salvá, Spanish and French)

73. 1644, with French (Ticknor). Etc. Etc.

There being Enumerated here 63 editions from 1499

to 1599, while sometimes several years are next found marked as having produced an edition, it would seem that, if all the editions were on record, there would probably be the unparalleled number of One hundred in One hundred years.

For Studies of the Celestina see Ticknor i Rev. 3., pp. XII - XVII; Ticknor, I, 214-219; Wolf, in Studien pp. 278-302; Klein, Shepherdy in Geschichte des Dramas, vol. VIII, pp. 838-923; Menendez y Pelayo in La Libertad, Diario de Madrid for April 6th, 1894.

33. 1. Ticknor (I, 221) mentions a play by Mendoza (+ 1644) that is called Celestina, while Barrera (Catálogo del antiguo teatro español, p. 250) calls it Celestina.

2. A Celestina by Calderon is mentioned Barrera, p. 88, a.

3. The Comedia Salvaje of Romero de Cepeda, in his Obras, Seville 1582, reprinted in Ochoa, Tesoro del Teatro, vol. I, pp. 286-299, has the first

first act. from the first form of Celestina.

4. The Comedia Tebayda (1521; 1546 together with the Comedia Serafina and the Comedia Hippolyta; reprinted in vol. 22 of the Coleccion de Libros Raros o Curiosos, Madrid 1894)

5. The Comedia Eufrosina, written 1527 by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, in Portuguese; printed 1560, 1566, 1616; translated into Spanish by Bellveser 1781, greatly curtailed, as the work had been prohibited in the Index of 1583 (Ximenez)

6. The Segunda Celestina, or Resurreccion de Celestina, by Feliciano de Silva, 1534; 1536 Venice; 1539 Salamanca; ± 1550, Antwerp; prohibited by the Index, 1559 (Valdés), reprinted in vol. 9 of Col. Libros Raros Cur.

7. The Tercera Celestina, by Gaspar Gomez (1536, according to Panzer, and, after him, to Brunet); 1539, Salvá (Cat. no. 1269; copy owner in Madrid Bibl. Nac.)

8. The Cuarta Obra y Tercera Celestina, also called Lozana Andaluza y Rosella, by Sancho de Muñon, 1542.

reprinted, vol. 3 of the Col. Libros Raros Cur.

9. The Comedia Policiana, 1547; 1548.

10. The Comedia Selvagia by Alonso de Villegas Selvago, 1554; reprinted, vol. 5 of the Col. Libros Raros Cur.

11. The Comedia Florinea, by Juan Rodriguez, 1554.

12. The Horatea of Lope de Vega, 1632; 1654; 1675; 1735 (where it is called Clara inprecion); reprinted in Rivadeneyra (vol. 2 of Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega) MDCCCLIII. The Hispanola of Juan Maldonado (mentioned by Prendergast, Calderon: His Life and Dramas, vol. 2, p. 74, note 1.) may have been another imitation of the Celestina but the work is not known; the Farsa Costanza of Castillejo, 1522, that never was printed, was lost in 1823; the Rozana Andaluza of Velicado or Velgado, written in 1524, printed about 1528, reprinted in vol. 1. of the Col. Libros Raros and with French translation by Bonnean, 1888, 2 vols., Francis bearing on title-page: "Contiene muchas mas cosas que la Celestina", has

nothing to do with Celestina; La Lena of Alfonso Velazquez de Velasco, 1002, reprinted in the same year under the title of El Celoso, and in 1613 with the title El Celoso (La Lena), reprinted by Rivas (Teatro del Teatro, vol. I, pp. 231-280) under the title El Celoso, is a rather distant imitation. Likewise the Egloga de la tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea by Pedro Manuel de Urrea (printed in his Cancionero, 1513. Reprinted in the Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses, Seccion Literaria, vol. II, Cancionero de Urrea, Zaragoza 1878) which versifies the first act of the Celestina, for specimens of which see Ribeiro, l.c., pp. xvii - xx, footnotes. However there is the Romance (described by Salva, I, p. 394, b) the only known copy of which is in the Library of D. M. Menendez y Pelayo, 8pp. fol. Black letter.

The works of Pedro Barbadillo: La ingeniosa Elena, hija de Celestina, and La Escuela de

Celestina, bear no relation to the original work. Neither does the segunda Celestina of Salazar (see Salvá I, p. 461), the real title of which is: "El encanto es la hermosura, y el hechizo sin hechizo" (reprinted in vol. 2 of the Dramáticos posteriores á Lope de Vega, vol. 49 of Riv.)

34. The only passage that I am able to construe thus is the one in Act 14 (Riv. 3. p. 89, b) of the Celestina: "¡ O cruel frey, cuán mal pago me has dado del buen que de mí hasta Comieta! ¿o pensaba que podía en tu favor mas mal cometer sin temor de castigo? ¿que pensaras que tú me habías de destruir?" While in the imitations all of which I have read, no invective of this kind against authorities is found.

35. Not having had an opportunity to make a study, from the sources, of the history of Spain in the eighteenth century I can only refer to Ticknor

I, pp. 357-358; II, 210-212; de la Fuente, Historia de España, 6 vols. folio, Barcelona, 1883-1885, especially vol. II, pp. 325-611; and to Cancer's Sinibaldo de Mas's essay on Lazarillo von Tormes, pp. 1-24, in which we find many anecdotes, taken from Sandoval, and characteristic of the times.

36. M. Anatole Baine has made this the subject of his cleverly written article: „Les gueux d'Espagne. Lazarille de Tormes." (in: Revue des deux Mondes, 15 Avril 1888, pp. 870-904)

37. I quote Lazarillo from Krauss's edition (Bibliothek spanischer Schriftsteller Band 5. Leipzig 1890)

The Clerigo Lazarillo's second master, having a burning a dozen loaves (p. 18, lines 5, 12, 17, 28) in his possession - cheese beginning Lazarillo very crumb (p. 15, line 32); he eats „Cinco blancos de carne para comer y cenar (p. 15, l. 29)

38. „Por Dios vi con él toparse" (i.e. with a "Mann de título"). many gran su privado pienso que fuese, y que mil cosillas le hacíese, porque yo sabría

mentille tan bien como otro. y agradalle á las mil maravillas" --- "y no quiera ver en los casos hombres virtuosos, ántes los aborrezca y tiene en poco y llame necios" (p. 37, col: p. 38, lines 14-16)

39. "Canonigos y señores de la iglesia muchos hallo; mas no espere tan liviana cosa en los sacros de tan santo estado" (p. 37 l. 20)

These were the priests of Toledo, of whom Navagiero (l.c. p. 286) says: "El arzobispado vale veinte mil ducados al año; el Arcobispo tiene seis mil ducados de renta y el Dean de tres á cuatro, y creo que hay dos. Los Canonigos son muchos, y ninguno goza de menos de doscientos ducados. tiene la catedral otras rentas y hay muchos Capellanes que alcanzan doscientos ducados al año, de modo que los amos de Toledo y de las mujeres precipue, son los Clérigos, que tienen hermosas casas y gastan y triunfan, dándose la mejor vida, sin que nadie los reprenda.

40. The clérigo of Maqueda: (Cuz. p. 15, 65-8): "todo la Cace

[illegible] del mundo estaba encerrado en ésta, pero [illegible] de
[illegible] era [illegible] había encerrado con el hidalgo de
Alcocer.

Magnet is a small place near Toledo, in the diocese
of Salamanca.

41. The cocinero: (p. 36, line 10) "Había dejado su tierra no
mas de por no quitar el bonete á un caballero su veci-
no"; he says (p. 37, l. 6-8): "aquel de mi tierra que
me alcoholaba de mantenimiento" (i.e. who saluted him
with "mantenga Dios a vuestra merced!") "nunca mas le
quise hazer ni hazia, ni hazré á hombre del
mundo, del rey abajo, que: mantenga Dios me diga".

42. The cocinero p. 37 l. 8 - p. 38 l. 19: "Iba á esta ciu-
dad pensando que hallaría un buen acuerdo" "mas
no quiere mi ventura que le halle".

43. (p. 38, l. 1-3): "Veille mucho sus Romances y costumbres,
aunque no fuesen las mejores del mundo; nunca
decía cosa con que le hiciese reyr, o mucho le enojase.

44. The ciego and the caballero (Chapters I and II) the former

(p. 6, l. 24; p. 7, l. 4): "desde que Dios crió el mundo, ningu-
no formó mas astuto ni sagaz" - "alcalde grandes pesca-
dos con las artes que digo, y ganaba mas en un mes
que cien ciegos en un año". The builders (p. 40, l. 24;
p. 41, l. 6) "el mas necesitado y desventurado" "cuando
por bien no le tomaban las bulas, buscaba cómo por
mal de las tomasen, y para aquello hacía molestias al
pueblo" y otras veces con maneras artificiosas.

45. (p. 31, l. 6-7; p. 32, l. 32; p. 31, l. 2-5): al pasar por la
tripería, pedí á una de aquellas mujeres, y dióme
un pedazo de una de vaca con otras pocas tripas
cocidas", While he pre he had gone" por las puertas y
casas mas grandes que me parecían", and if he had
taken all his skill" aunque en este pueblo no había
caridad" to get a supply of bread.

46. (p. 33, l. 31): "como el año en esta tierra fuese estéril
de pan, acordaron en ayuntamiento que todos los
pobres estranjeros se fuesen de la ciudad, con pregón
que el que de allí adelante topasen fuese punido con azotes"

47. (p. 34- C. 10- 18): "El Cautiverio de mi amo, que en cada
día mudaba el bocado que comía.. Y allá venía á
medio día Calle abajo.. y por lo que tocaba á la negra
que dicen Hoara tomaba una paja de las que aun no
habían acaz en Casa, y salía á la puerta escarvando
[illegible]

48. (p. 30 C. 24-30): "[illegible] mi amo [illegible]
[illegible] ¿Dónde está mi amo, mi señor, y mi señora? ¿Dónde está mi
Marido y dueño mío, ¿adonde os Alcaraván? ¿A la Casa Obscura
y oscura? ¿A la Casa triste y desdichada? ¿A la Casa donde
nunca Comen ni beben? Idea Señor, no le traen. Y Cuanto
mente Cuando mi amo esto oyó, aunque no tenía por
que estar muy Contento vio harto que muy grande era
Costumbre sin poder hablar."

49. (p. 34, C. 24- 29): "un día en el pobre pobre de mi amo
entró un Real, y me lo dió diciendo: Come, Lázaro, ve
á la plaza y merca pan y vino y Carne, que bien
el rejo el diablo"

50 Ni fin quitalom pram Plinio" que no hay libro, por

Malo que te, que no tenga alguna cosa buena"; Tulio: "La buena vida [illegible] mención [illegible] Plauto, Heliodoro Magno and the many "antiguos que Ovidio escribió" [illegible] 30 l. 30; 17 l. 4, 30 l. 12]. Comparing this with the endless quotations from Seneca, Aristotle, etc., that are found in the Tebaida, the Segunda Celestina of Feliciano de Silva, the Arcadia of Lope de Vega, and those of about the same time, it is safe to say that the author of Lozanía has not been a man of letters, could not have failed to quote more and more explicitly in any case.

Morel-Fatio (Préface, p. xvii-xviii) says: "je cherche, mais aux alentours des pièces Valdés. N'y aurait-il pas aussi quelque Cointais Concinage entre notre nouvelle et un livre bizarre, mal composé, mais plein de détails de mœurs curieux, El Crotalon? L'on peut aussi [illegible] bien des égards le penser."

To this I should like to say:

1. That in the Crotalon [the author of which may, according to Cayangos (vid. Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos

II. 958) have been a certain Cristóbal de Villalon; the work is vol. IX of the poetical volumes of the Bibliófilos Españoles] we find (p. 84) the "Ensayo" [in the table of contents] as "Ensayo de Torneo" in the second Part of Crotalón (1553)

2 Mme Merrick Hale expresses herself that the Reynalds may have existed in Mod. twenty years before publication (Préface, p. XII). Of this there is a partial corroboration. In the Rosana Andaluza, written in 1524 (though not printed before 1528 : reprinted : vol I. Soc. Libros Raros Cur.) we find (p. 180) : " yo no soy Cazarillo, el que cavalgó á la agüela " (an allusion to one of the tales of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles) which to me proves that Cazarillo was a name given to a person of whom naughty tricks and Simplicity was an attribute. The careful style of the brothers Valdés precludes associating their name with a book.

51. Not to quote several pages from various Celestinas, I give the following strikers, first

In the Lysandro y Roselia (Knapp edition, p. 168) we read: "Inmediatos a "Inspiración nuestra" se leían los libros con todos los cielos que dueño herreros" and immediately after: "A unos escolares oí estos nombres". In this fashion unlettered persons like the author of Laguillo may have become acquainted with what little classical learning we find in the book. In the same work we find (p. 41): Celestina lecturing Pármeno and setting before him the example of la Celestina "que primero recibe que da si no tiene dinero, que dexa prendas. ¿Donde tenías los ojos ayer cuando la fuimos á visitar? ¿No mirastes la alhaja de atauíos, y la vina que tenía llena de decretos y Baldos, y de Scotos y Abricenos y otros libros?"

Under these circumstances classical references may be, even common exceptions

58. V. gr. p. 17, l. 34: "tio, una llave desde ante he perdido, y tengo que mi dueño me azote: por vuestra vida veáis si en casa que traéis hay alguna que la haga, que yo os lo pagaré"; p. 19, l. 8: "este

segistem de vello y solo los algunos pocos dineros
pequeños seguiros ; p. 22, l. 6: "Estuvieron en tierra
no ser el calor el que este daño hacia, porque no
fuera menos de haber caido alguna vez ; p. 24, l. 6:
" Mas de como esto que he contado oí, despues que
en mí torné, dixe á mi amo ; p. 29, l. 21: "¿Quién
encontrará á aquel mi señor que no piense segun
el contento de él viera, haber anoche bien cenado?"

53. Prólogo (p. 2, l. 12): " Y pues vuestra merced escribe se
le escriba y relate el caso muy por estenso"; p. 3, l. 1:
" Pues sepa vuestra merced"; p. 6, l. 20: "Prólogo de
contar a vuestra merced ; p. 7, l. 6: " Pues porque
quiero que sepa vuestra merced"; and many other passages.

54. Nicolas Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispanica Nova, 2 1783, vol.
I, p. 291: " Tribuitur enim nostro Hieronymo Sanctio
Sedeño, ingenio certe et probitate Atticus, quem
Salmanticae studiorum literarum Collegium, Scholae
Sedeñi Tormes indigitatae, quamvis non decet qui
Sanctum Sedeñum Hieronymianum Humanitas, Lingua

auctorum ecclesiasticorum historiae libellus. Eiusdem in libros ordinis historici lib. I. Caps. 35"

55. Brunet, Manuel[5], 1, 821: "Cuentas de Inventario. Lazarillo de Tormes, 1553, in-16. Anvers, que nous n'avons pas vue."

In fact, no one has seen the book. The existence of this edition however seems more than probable to me, since, whether first published at Burgos in 1554 or at Antwerp in the same year, the two copies coincide so closely, the one of Burgos being more correct than that of Antwerp and slightly modernized, that is seems necessary to conclude that both were made, not one upon the other, but both after a common prototype.

56. When Brunet-Fatio wrote his study of Lazarillo (1888, Vol. I of the Études sur l'Espagne), a marvel of criticism, he could only indicate the existence of the Burgos edition of Encinas, in the library of the Duke of Alcalá. Cancer has had a friend give him a complete description of that copy, that Prof. H. A. Rennert has

collated with Krecnel's edition, and kindly sent me for inspection. I had myself collated Cracow with Antwerp, 1554 (Leiden University Copy) and arrived at the conclusion given in note 55.

Neither bears a date; but more strange is it than the official edition (1554) should say: "nuevamente impressa, Corregida y de nuevo añadida en esta Segunda impression" and have the date February 20th.

57. Antwerp, Nucio, 1554

Burgos. Juan de Junta, 1554.

Alcalá, reprint Nov 26th 1554.

Antwerp, Simon, 1555. (with second part; see below.)

58. Index of Valdés, 1559, prohibits first and second parts.

59. Morel-Fatio, (Préface p. xx) quotes from Juan de Velasco's preface to the first expurgated edition of 1573, which I have not seen: "Quoique il fût prohibé en ces royaumes (Il quoique soit fait) on le lisait et imprimait couramment au dehors. C'est pourquoi nous y avons Corrigé certaines choses pour lesquelles il

avait été prohibé."

60. Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos (II, 519): "Es de todo punto rídícula é impertinente y del mismo continuador dió muestras de no entender el original que imitaba. Lo que había empezado por novela de costumbres, acaba por novela fabulosa, con lejanas reminiscencias de la Historia verdadera, de Luciano."

61. Menéndez y Pelayo, (ibid): "Su obra se imprimió dos veces: una en París, 1620, y otra también en el extranjero aunque dice falsamente Zaragoza, en 1602."

62. Menéndez y Pelayo (ibid): "El continuador se llama M. de Luna, intérprete de lengua española, y desde la primera página manifiesta su enemiga contra el Santo Oficio, "a quien tanto temen, no sólo los cabalteros y gente baja, más los señores y grandes: todos tiemblan cuando oyen estos nombres, inquisición é inquisidores, más que las hojas del árbol con el blando céfiro."

Hmm, can't see much else. Three years ago when looking up other matters, I know only that the author,

Juan Cortés de Tolosa, published in 1617 at Zaragoza a little uninteresting work, Discursos Morales, many matters of which also occur in the Lazarillo de Manzanares, con otras cinco Novelas, (Madrid, 1620); for instance, a passage: "El Valiente y el Medroso". The Lazarillo de Manzanares contains nothing of interest and is clumsily and affectedly written. Tichnor (I, 401) says: "Er hat in ihrer Zeit keinen Eindruck gemacht und ist ganzt Vergessen."

64. French, 1561, by Jean Saugrain.
English, 1586, by David Rowland.
German 1617, by Niclas Ulenhart.
Italian, 1622, by Barrezzo Barrezzi.
Dutch, 1579 (no translator's name given).
Latin, in Caspar Ens' Latin translation of Guzman. Having seen only the Dantzig edition of 1652, I do not know whether it also is embodied in that of 1623 [not of 1624, as Tichnor says he has also been mentioned (II, 216, note 1.)] as in the other of 1652,

where it occupies the place of the story of "Ozmin y Daraja" (Part I, Book I, Chapter VIII; in Latin pp. 74-115). The Latin gives the stories of the negro Zayde, the blind man, the priest, the ecclesiastic, the marriage, neatly but concisely translated.

65. I have already (note 50, at end) drawn notice to the occurrence of the name Lazarillo in 1524, in the Segunda Andaluza.

Lope de Rueda, who died 1566, mentions in one of his plays: Lazarillo "el que tuvo 350 amos".

In the works of Sebastian de Horozco (partly published in: Cancionero de J. de Horozco, by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos andaluces, Sevilla 1874) we find (pp. 157-171) a "Representacion de la Historia evangélica del Capítulo nono de Sanct Joan", two of the characters of which play are: el Ciego de Natividate; Lazarillo su criado.

Unfortunately the author's dates are uncertain; he wrote between 1566 and 1570; the fact that

nothing more definite is known of him precludes surmises as to the question whether he might have written the Representación before 1554.

66. Borrel-Vidis (Preface, p. XIX): "Flaire un danger ne se dit pas autrement que 'oler el poste', et au XVII^e siècle déjà la locution était usée à force d'avoir servi: un auteur comique, Luis Quiñones de Benavente, la traite de cliché (civilidad)"

I have not been able to verify this quotation.

67. Much Ado about Nothing: Act II. Scene I: "How you strike like the blind man: 'twas the boy that stole your meat, and you will beat the post!"

68. Bretón de los Herreros Don Frondoso Retranca. The action takes place in 1817, and this play, his last, was his masterpiece. cc: Obras de Don Manuel Bretón de los Herreros. Madrid, Establecimiento tipográfico, 1887-1889, vol. III, pp. 194-208.

69. I transcribe here a well-written page from

Après la Barre les yeux d'Espagne. Revue des deux Mondes, 15 Avril 1888, pp. 870-904): " Il (Philip II) ne sortit plus de son Cabinet, toujours écrivant, Congédiant arrêtant, lisant tout: lettres, mémoires, statistiques, rapports, suppliques, et se rappelant tout; donnant lui-même ordre à tout; réglant et réglementant tout: les mouvements de ses flottes et le prix du blé, la lutte contre le protestantisme et les purgatives de ses enfans, les tortures à infliger et le moment où il mettait son habit neuf. Il écrivait le jour, il écrivait la nuit. On l'attendait pour une fête: il écrivait. La reine l'attendait: il écrivait. La nouvelle d'un désastre arrivait: il écrivait, écrivait: Depuis que la Bureaucratie a été inventée, on ne vit jamais une vocation aussi déterminée. C'était appliqué la première partout, infatigable, mauvais fonctionnaire de toute: il était toujours en retard; un ordre urgent

arrivait au bout d'un an.

On comprend de quel poids pesait sur les esprits cette surveillance occulte dont les effets déla-
taient aux yeux par l'infinité des disgrâces
soudaines, de confiscations et de supplices dont
le tableau est dans toutes les histoires. Les af-
faires ne se traitaient pas mieux que des person-
nes il avait dit de Tello un si grand plaintif:
"Je voi craquer trop aux vertus magiques du
papier noirci."

70. Dr. Caspar Caldera de Heredia, in his MS.:
"Aranceles políticos" (Extracted in Gallardo, vol. II,
p. 176): "Ya se pasó el tiempo de el César
Cárlos V, que premió las armas; de Felipe II.
el prudente, que premió las letras; que aunque
hay de premiar, es á solos los dichosos que los
lleva en brazos la fortuna."
Luis Fernandez Guerra, Historia (p. 611): "La am-
bicion, alentada por el favoritismo y venalidad

de los ministros de Felipe III, tan distinto de los del anterior reinado, iba llevándose á la Corte á galope la nobleza en busca de pingües gobiernos, plazas en los Consejos lucrativos mercedes y grandes agudas de toda."

71. (In his own authority we know that in 1568 he was "Contador de Resultas en la Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas del Rey" Ibid. Ortografía (México, 1609) fol. 177, Vº (Copy of Prof. A. M. Elliott)

72. In a letter signed Tomas Gonzalez, dated Simancas May 6th 1819, we find that among the Simancas documents were found those pertaining to this matter, see: Vida de Cervantes, D. Cayetano Rosell 1819, p. 441, middle.)

73. For full description of the Ortografía, and for those facts that can be drawn from it concerning Aleman, see: Fernández Guerra, Aleman, p/p. 68-72, and 476, 478.

74. Title-page Guzman Barcelona, 1600 (Vedia, Ed. I, p. 138)

Nicolás Antonio Bibliotheca Nova.

75. Ticknor (II, 213) makes this statement on the authority of one of Alemán's friends who wrote a preliminary to the second part of Guzman. This piece is not reprinted in Riv. III, only parts of it in Salvá (no. 1699), and not having seen the original editions, I cannot quote from them.

76. In Ebert's Bibliotheca Hispana (February, 1828) we find that of two editions of the Proverbios Morales by Alonso de Barros († 1604; for bibliography see Salvá, no. 2048) both Lisbon 1617, the one (by Jorge Rodriguez) contains a prologue by Alemán which is not in the other. But there being also a dedication by Barros himself, these two pieces were probably reprinted unchanged from one of the earlier editions. Barros was an intimate friend of Alemán, and wrote the Elogio of Guzman, Part I. (Riv. III, p. 187).

77. Italy: Riv. III, p. 242. b; 240, b; 288-289, 312. b. His knowledge of Italian matters is apparent in the

passage: Riv. III, p. 316, though he might have gained this at Sevilla.

About the author and his purpose:

p. 194, b: "á ninguno está bien decir mentiras, y menos al que escribe".

p. 228, a: "no quiero tener honra ni verla; no pretendas lisonjeando, ni enfrasques porque no te inquieten".

p. 226 b - 227, a: indirect remarks to the King.

p. 247, b: his experiences while trying to obtain a position.

p. 265, Chapter II: "necesario es, y tanto suele á veces importar un buen chocarrero, como el mejor Consejero"; this together with p. 265, a: "... necio le parecerá á vos lo que se debiera hacer varias páginas" and the expression p. 186: "muchas cosas hallarás de sazón y buen gusto, que dejé de matizar por causas que lo impidieron", show his intention at reforming

matters, and that he might have said much more, and more directly, if it could have been admitted.

p. 266, 6: about Court-flatterers.

p. 308, : about those without protection: they are at the mercy of everyone.

p. 330, beginning of Chapter III: the uselessness of all his remonstrations.

p. 289, 6: the example of Florence, where merit is rewarded, different in this respect from Spain, where, to thrive, everything must be dissimulation.

78. Moratin (L. F.) Obras Póstumas, Madrid 1867, 8vo. Vol. II, Letter CIX.

In the translations, Clemencin's digressions and Company moralizing discourses were curtailed; Bremond's French translation of 1696 cut out some of these, and lengthened others; LeSage (1732) left them out altogether: see Chantie, LeSage Romancier, Paris, 1890, pp. 176-177.

Caspar Ens' Latin translation (Col. Agr. 1623, Daut,

zig 1652) was made after the Italian (in this work we find names of places written in Italian spelling, v. gr. Lizzaglia; and proverbs like: "In Reame, in ogni casa un ladrone, etc". Moreover, in Eno's Epithalamium Libri IV. (Col. Agr. 1623, p. 17) we find that he had made use of: La vita del Piccolomini detto Enea Silvio: and the translator says (Prudentium Vitae Humanae Ad Lectorem): "Libellum tamen ut non tam interpreti quam Autoris patrocinium capiam. The author has made a very readable, rather concise translation ending the book in a way that seems to me a translation of Albertinus' final chapters (vid. Reinhardstöttner, in Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte, II, 1888, pp. 47-50, for contents). See about Eno and his relation to Spanish literature M. Menendez Pelayo in his review of Farinelli, Spanien und die Spanische Literatur, (in: Espana Moderna, Octubre 1894, p. 172)

79. I transcribe from ~~codex~~ 1617 (de tomo, por):

p. 794, b: "Miguel de Cervantes. La segunda parte de Don Quijote, cap. 26 al medio, borrece: 'Las obras de (Garcilaso) que de lugar y ocasión, no tienen mérito, ni valen nada'".

Compare with this remark like those of Guzman (Riv. p. 221, a): "nunca pierdo algun dia de rezar el rosario entero, con otras devociones, y aunque te oiga murmurar que es muy de cadañeo y de frayle no aflojarlo de la mano, frigiéndose devotos de nuestra señora etc".

(P. 246, a): "España, amada patria, tambien tienes maestros que truecan las conciencias".

The powerful passage about hypocrites (p. 307, b), and, more remarkable than any other word, p. 322, a: "el cielo con ellos tomada se abre; ~~tambien hay ganzuas para el~~.

80. Mateo Lujan, 2ª parte de Guzman, Libro III, Cap. VII. (Riv. 3 p. 418, b - 419, a), about the Celestina

literature.

81. Luis Valdés, in Elogio to 2nd part (extracted Salvá, no. 1699; quoted: Ticknor II, 214, note 1.) States that he knew twenty-six editions. It is not possible to find dates and place of publication of this number of editions, but below will be found a [illegible] that proves the possibility of Valdés' assertion.

The supposition of Brunet, that the Aprobacion, being dated January 13th 1598, may indicate an edition of 1598, falls before Gayangos's description (Catal. no. 361, Jan. 1885, no. 26890) of the reprint, where he proves from the preliminaries that the year began with March 1st.

Since Salvá says that he has seen the book, and has given a complete description of it (no. 1094) I am led to believe that the book appeared without the word Piteas on the title-page, though neither here nor in the early reprints do we find the subtitle, "Atalaya de la Vida

Humana", as Aleman claims he called the story (see Riv. 3, p. xxvii, note 2.)

Editions Primera Parte, before appearance of Part 2.

1. 1599, Madrid, Varez de Castro, with portrait, 4º.
(Salvá 1694; Brunet; Brit. Mus.)

2. 1599, Barcelona, Cornellas, 8º
(Heredia, 2576. Title: Pícaro).

3. 1599. Barcelona, Gabriel Graells y Giralt Dalmau, 8º.
(Heredia, 2577. Title: Pícaro; pages identical with 2.)

4. 1599. Zaragoza, 12º.
(Brunet; see also 14)

5. 1600, Madrid, Sequeira, with portrait.
(Quaritch, Cat. 361 – 1885 – no. 26890; Aprob. Jan. 13. 1598; T.E., 1599)

6. 1600. Paris, Bonfons, with portrait.
(Brunet. Spanish Aprob.: 1598; French: Bibl. Nat. Ye. I, no. 210 does not mention portrait)

7. 1600, Barcelona, Cornellas, 8º.
(Salvá 1694; Heredia 2578).

8. 1600, Bruxellas, Mommarte, 8º.

(Callado, vol. I, no. 119; Heredia 2579)

9. 1600, Madrid, Diego de Castro, 12°.

(Brunet)

10. 1600, Coimbra.

(Brunet: Antonio de Mariz, P. Cenro & Herdeyro Diogo Gomez Loureyro; incompleta in Salvá 1695, Heredia 5933)

11. 1600, Lisboa 4°.

(Salvá 1695, after Quaritch, Cat. for 1866)

(Includes 3 tratamento of an edition Lisb. 1600 Rodrigues, Containing Three parts, as mentioned by Brunet, and rejected by Salvá 1695)

12. 1600, Madrid, Martinez 8°

(Salvá 1696. Heredia 2580)

13. 1602, Sevilla 4°.

(Salvá 1696, after Quaritch, Cat. for 1864)

This gives the following calculation:

In 1599, four editions : 4.

" 1600, seven " : 7.

If there were also seven in 1601 and 1602, this

would make for these two years a total of fourteen, giving all together twenty-five editions, thus coming very closely to Valdés' twenty-six.

It cannot be doubted that there appeared in 1601 and in 1602 several editions besides the two places on my list, especially as in subsequent years numerous editions continued to appear.

Separate editions of the Segunda Parte.

Brunet (together with his mention of Part I. Madrid 1599) says: "Cette seconde partie avait d'abord paru à Madrid, en 1600, in-4°." Of this statement see Salvá's refutation (no. 1694). As to the date of publication of the second part there are some difficult questions. F. Wolf (in Supplement to Ticknor, p. 160) repeats his statement of Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur, vol. 122, p. 105) that there is a copy in Vienna, dated Milan 1603. The Jahrbücher describe it: „Milan, per Geronimo Bordon, 1603, mit dem ersten Theile zusammen", to which Wolf adds: „was, türlich mitten in Spanien, früher Ausgaben erschienen

cein".

Now, the earliest known edition made in the Penin-
sula is Lisbon 1604, the aprobacion of which states
that Aleman submitted the book to the prees. concern
While he was in Lisbon (see Salva, vol. II, p. 112, b.). We
know that Aleman wrote his San Antonio de Padua before
the Part II. (see Navarrete, in Riv. 33, p. LXXI, note 1.), of
which San Antonio, a very rare book, we find no earlier
edition mentioned than Sevilla 1604 (see Gallardo, vol. I, sub
voce Aleman), so we have to suppose the strange cir-
cumstance that the San Antonio was written very hurri-
edly (see Navarrete, l.c.) and sent to press in haste, but
was not published till two years later. After this
book, Aleman wrote the Part II of Guzman, made a
flying trip to Milan, had it printed, rushed back to
Lisbon, printed it again, and leaves us to guess how it
was possible to do all this. Perhaps the Vienna Copy
of Milan may solve the mystery, if that Copy is
really our 2nd Part, and not Lujan's forgery (see note
no. 6.

Editions:

1. (?) 1603, Milan, Jerónimo Bordon.
(F. Wolf; Brunet: J. Bordon y P. Locarno, Small 8°, ac. Cooling to a catalogue of Troas, 1851.)

2. 1604, Lisbon, Craesbeeck, Small 4° with portrait.
(Brunet. The only copy known: Heredia 2584)

3. 1605, Barcelona, Cormellas.
(Gallardo, no. 122; Heredia 5936)

4. 1605 Valencia Mey Small 8°.
(Ticknor, Cat.; Heredia 2577)

5. 1605, Barcelona, Honofre Anglada.
(Brunet. Ossinger, Bibl. Hisp., no. 89)

6. 1615, Milan, Bidelo, 12°. (together with Part I, but dep. as to volume and title. Salva 1700; Heredia 2585)

First edition (first mentioned with Title: Primera y Segunda Parte: 1619, Burgos, Varesio (Salvá 1701; Heredia 2586)
It is however extremely probable that, long before this, the two were printed as one work; Likewise there must be many more editions than the few above mentioned,

although I find nowhere indications of their existence.

82. Lucio Valdés (quoted Riv. 33, LXXI, note 1.)

83 Gallardo no. 130, gives specimens. Retrato de Hernan tinos (Boc. II 10; II, 14), were reprinted: Obras de Hurado, traducidas por Hurtado Hernan publicadas nuevamente Manuel Pérez de Guzman y Borja. Cádiz, Imprenta de la Viuda de Nieto, 1893 (only one hundred copies printed).

84. His Ortografía (Mexico 1609) is fully reprinted in the Conde de la Viñaza's useful work: Bibliotca Histórica de la Filología Castellana, Madrid 1893.

85. For contemporary appreciation of his language, see Riv. 33, LXXI, note 2.

Prof. F. M. Warren (History of the Novel, N.Y. 1895 p. 314) incorrectly says: "of the other works (that is, Hernan's works other than Guzman) of his pen nothing has survived."

86. The most recent special treatise on Hernan adds nothing to our information (see: Joaquín Hazañas de la Rua, is: Discursos leídos en la Real Acad. Sevillana de Buenas Letras. Sevilla, E. Rasco, 1892.)

87. The work was extensively read, as the number of editions proves; probably others took the work for genuine, as did Luis Valdés (see Ris. 33, CXXIV, note 1.), but when the fraud was discovered the work was completely forgotten that Nicolás Antonio did not even know it (see Fuster, quoted Ris. 33, CXXIII, note 2 of preceding page).

I find mention of the following editions:

1. 1602, Barcelona, Amello.
   (Heredia 2582; Quaritch, Cat. 361 (1885) no. 26893.)
2. 1602, Valencia.
   (Salvá 1880 says that the aprobacion to no. 3. proves that the book had been printed at Valencia; no. 7 has the aprobacion dated Valencia, Aug. 8. 1602).
3. 1603 Madrid, Imprenta Real
   (Ticknor, Cat.; Salvá 1880; Heredia 2580)
4. 1603 Zaragoza, Turanzo.
   (Salvá 1880, from Cat. of Soza)
5. 1603, Barcelona, Cormellas.
   (Salvá 1880, according to Fuster)

6. 1603, Milan

(Salvá 1880: this is the date of the Dedicatoria).

7. 1604, Barcelona, Pelpio.

(Gallardo, no. 2836; Salvá 1881; Heredia 2581)

88. The well-known passage: Alemán, Guzmán II, Book II, Cap. IV (Riv. 3, p. 298) proves this statement conclusively.

89. Lujan's work contains a curious story (Book I, Chapter II); a very long discussion on the nobility of the Biscayans (Book II, Ch. VIII - XI) and a description of festivities at Valencia (Book III, Ch. X). The most noteworthy passage is the one about actors and plays (Riv. 3, p. 418. 422)

90. The better written parts may have been stolen from Alemán (see Alemán, quoted Riv. 3, p. LXXIII), but the thief spoils them by a show of learning not customary with Alemán (see Riv. 3, p. 369, a; 369, b; 372, a; 389, b; 392 b; 411, a; 412; 413) and frequently occurring Constructions like aunque - pero (for example: 365, a, line 7; 367, b, line 19; 371, b, middle; 376, b, line 15, etc., etc.) I believe that what is good in the book belongs to Alemán; what is bad

to Martí; and I may be able some time to try to establish Alemán's share in the make-up of the book.

91. Editions:

1. 1605, Medina del Campo, Cristobal Lasso Vaca, 4º.
(on the title-page: Lic. Francisco de Ubeda, privil. to Fr. Lopez de Ubeda. Gallardo, no. 2795: with a plate; Salva 1871: with double page 182; Heredia 2583; Gayangos, Bibl. Hisp. no. 827: with engraved frontispiece).

2. 1605, Barcelona, Cormellas, 8º.
(Salvá 1871; Brunet)

3. 1608, Bruxellas, Brunello, small 8º.
(with folded plate. Tichnor, Cat.)

4. 1640, Barcelona, 8º.
(Brit. Mus.: by P. Lacavalleria. Brunet.)

5. 1707, Barcelona, 8º.
(Brunet, quoted by Salvá 1872)

6. 1735, Madrid, Zuñiga, 4º.
(Tichnor, Cat.; Salvá 1873 gives extract from Mayans' preface who contends that the author was Fray Andrés

Pérez, a statement not accepted by E. Mérimée (Querido, p. 157, note 2)

NB. The versos de pié quebrado which we find in the Justina have given rise to the question 1. whether Cervantes used this verse first; 2. whether the Ghigiola was known before 1605.

Gallardo (no. 2795) gives the date of the Privil. of Justina as August 22nd 1604.

Barrera (Catálogo del Teatro, p. 421) mentions a letter by Lope, dated August 4th 1604, speaking of Ghigiola Cervantes in his "Cervantes en Argel" (Rivadeneyra, Bibl. de Aut. Esp., vol. 97-98) proves that the Ghigiola was known in 1603.

So there seems no doubt that Ticknor was right in supposing (II, 213, note) that Cervantes was the first to use this verse.

The pretentiousness of the Justina: see the Prólogo (Riv. 33, p. 471); the title (see Gallardo, no. 2795) promises fifty-one kinds of verse (the edition of Brussels, 1608, gives only

fifty]; its attempt at wit is seen from the title of the introductory chapters ("Al pelo de la pluma", "á la Mancha, etc."). Mayans (referred to by Ticknor, II, 218) considers this book one of the first to write "culto". I think it might be proved that in the middle of the Sixteenth Century the foundation, if not the actual practice, existed; for example, we find striking specimens in Feliciano de Silva's Celestina, while in other Celestinas we meet frequent ironical remarks about such style which it seems to me, Feliciano de Silva even mocks himself.

92. What a fine opportunity might not the author have had to write a scathing satire on the "Buscones", which surely must have existed in his days as they did a few years later, at the time when Navarrete complained of their great number (Conversación de Monasterios, Madrid 1626, p. 24)! By taking Guzman as a model, a very instructive and curious novel might have been produced; instead of this, though clearly wishing to continue Guzman (see prólogo, Riv. 33, p. 47) the Jacinto

vent off into witticisms of a cheap and forced kind.

93. Schack and Barrera draw much information concerning the Stage about 1600 from Rojas; Barrera also succeeds in reconstructing the chronology of Rojas' life from this work so that it tallies with other data. For contents and bibliography (to which I am not able to add more facts) see Barrera sub voce Rojas Villandrando.

94. Barrera makes extracts from the work which is very rare; I have not succeeded in seeing it.

95. The first time I meet this expression is in the Donado Hablador, Part II, Cap. VII (Riv. 18, p. 564, a, line 6), first published in 1626. Quirós, in his Don Duelo, 1656 (see Barrera) also has the expression, which after that date seems to have disappeared.

By the name, El Caballero del Milagro, we have various plays (see Barrera, Index) to which, for modern plays, should be added that by Eguilaz, dealing with the history of Rojas himself (in Obras sueltas of Eguilaz. Paris, Baudry, 1846)

96. Alemán, Guzmán I, Libro II, Capo. VII (Riv. 3, p. 230, b):
"Entonces éramos pocos, y andábamos de vagar; ahora son muchos y todos tienen en qué entretenerse, y no hay estado más dilatado que el de los pícaros, porque todos dan en ello y se precian dello."

97. Parte I, Libro III, Capo. II, (Riv. 3, p. 241, b; 242, b); Capo. III; see also Mateo Luján, Libro II, Capo. III (Riv. 3, p. 385, b; 387, a)

Rinconete y Cortadillo, Ejemplares; Coloquio de los Perros (Riv. 1, p. 212, b.)

The word monipodio, Latin, 'monopoly', is found in the Crotalón, p. 332: "ambos tienen hecho liga y monipodio en el trato de sus feligreses"; and in Mateo Luján, Libro III, Capo. II (Riv. 3, p. 407, a): "los monipodios que hacen, juntándose dos o tres a comprar toda la mercadería que habían de comprar muchos, haciendo entre sí alianza de los precios."
Adolfo de Castro (Varios obras inéditas de Cervantes, Madrid, 1874, pp. 375-379).

La tia fingida.

The history of the vicissitudes of this story is well-known. Published first with doubts as to its authenticity, by Arrieta (1814, incomplete), a better edition was made by Francisco and F. A. Wolf (Berlin, 1818). Arrieta issued an edition (1826) that contained from the Berlin edition the parts he had not given in his first publication. Gallardo (in No. I of his Curiosidades Críticas, Madrid 1835) proves the authenticity of the story using another reliable manuscript (Bibl. Colombina A.4.141.4), giving the variants and showing how they improve the meaning and logical succession of ideas contained in the work. Printed once more, with these corrections, by Aribau (Bib. de Autores Españoles, vol I 1846) it has found its final form, and a careful commentator in the Obras Completas de Cervantes (Madrid, Ribadeneyra, 12 Vols. Large 8vo, vol. 8), and is, though rather indecent, a remarkably well-written story. The improprieties

are in keeping with the subject, and surely not more than the various Celestinas, to which the Tia fingida is a running prose-commentary and gloss.

101. E. T. A. Hoffmann wrote a continuation to the Colloquio de los Perros: Nachricht von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza; here, however, the author talks with the dog chiefly about Hoffmann's experiences in Bamberg (see Georg Ellinger, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Hamburg and Leipzig, Leopold Voss, 1894. p. 80; the story is found in Hoffmanns Phantasie-Stücke, 4 vols., 1814-1815, vol. 2.)

102. La gitanilla.

About the gipsies in Spain there is an immense, little amount of literature. To mention only the most important and accessible:

Cervantes, La gitanilla.

Clemencin, notes to his edition of the Quijote (1833, 6 vols., now reprinting in the cheap and correct Biblioteca Clásica) vol. II, pp. 473-478.

Juan (Philipp), Romancero de Germanía, Madrid, 1779,
(pp. 201-222)

Borrow, The Gypsies of Spain (new edition, London 1864)

Baudelaire, Les Dejeuners Bohémiens (Revue
Critique, 1875, nos. 39-41)

Rochas, Les Parias de France et d'Espagne,
Paris, 1876.

Beside this, in German & Spanish novels, for example,
Konrad Haller, Part II, ch. II-IV (Riv. 18,
p. 543-553) etc., etc.-

103. Quijote, Parte I, cap. 22; Parte II, cap. 27.

104. The Venteros: Quijote I, cap. 3.
Regarding the Venteros it may be said, that no
class was of worse repute than they, and it would
take a special treatise to show what Spanish and
foreign authors have said of them. To mention in a
a few: Quijote, l. c.; Cervantes, Novelas I, Lib. I, Cap. III;
Cap. III; Cap. VI-VII Lib. II, Cap. I; Parte II, Lib.
II, Cap. VIII; Quevedo, Lib. I Cap. III-IV; [illegible]

de Figueroa, El Pasagero, Aliris VII; Gaspar Ens, Prosecutum Vitæ Humanæ (Luis Guzman Lib. III, Cap. VII; Obregon, Mescanza XIII, Relacion I; Salas Barbadillo, id.: la Estafeta del dios Momo. El Ladron convertido á Ventero; etc., etc.-

105 La ilustre fregona.

Matteo Lujan (Guzman Lib. I. Cap. I Rev. 3, p. 374. a) says: "eché de ver en mi vida picaresco, que muchos hijos de buenos padres que la profesaban, aunque despues los juicios alegen, no hubo remedio: tal es el bebedizo de la libertad y propia voluntad."

In the Nouvelles Espagnoles de Michel de Cervantes traduction nouvelle avec des notes, etc., par M. Lefebre de Villebrune, Paris, 1788, 2 vols., I find (vol. 2, Introductory Remarks to the Ilustre fregone): "Ce n'est pas qu'il y eût plus de mœurs en France, en Italie, en Portugal; ou moins les désordres n'étaient pas si publics chez nous. Thomas

Lansens. Dans un discours latin sur les mœurs et les usages des différentes nations, on apprendra plus en lecteur que je ne puisse dire ici. Voyez son discours sur l'Espagne, pag. 284, édit. 1637."

I have not succeeded in obtaining a Copy of Lansius.

106. See Navarrete, Vida de Cervantes (Madrid, 1819), p. 87, and 435 et. et., especially p. 439, note 188.

Cervantes was no Gallardo and Aureliano Fernández Guerra suspected, very probably the author of the Tercera Parte de la Relación de la Cárcel de Sevilla (see Gallardo, vol. I, Col. 1366, note 2; 1341, note 1; 1366-1370; 1371, note 1; 1371-1384), and of the Entremés de la Cárcel de Sevilla (see Cervantes, Obras, Teatro, vol. III, p. 293.).

107. Pedro de Urdemalas, Comedia (in Obras, Teatro, vol. I, p. 313.)

Émile Chasles, Cervantes 2ème Edition [illegible], 1866), p. 411): "Cervantes a écrit le roman du gentilhomme et le drame picaresque du vaurien. Pedro

de ilustrarlas [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Clarecias de ellos; 2. alteración de hechos; 3. anfibiologías de expresión; 4. discrepancia de palabras."

(p. III): "Montpodio no se contenta con "tenerlo todo en sí como en no"; hace del ojo a Chiquinquirá, que juega en gran apetito a Rinconete; los dos muchachos reían mano, pero Montpodio les apaciguа, explicándolo como la pescozada de los caballeros. Luego les da noviciado de tres meses."

(p. IV): "La Cañizares dice." Mariscos de Tarpeya por Mira Nero de Tarpeya (compare here Durán, Romanceros I, p. 393). Herón entonces se nombraba en Castellano Nero, y aquél verso era en Sevilla tan conocido, que hasta la Cañizares lo debía aplicar de su modo".

(p. X, XI): "Al fin de ésta novela se promete más larga relación de la vida, muerte y milagros de estos Cadmos y de su maestro Montpodio. Estas muertes son las que debían hacer ejemplares la narración de estos sucesos."

(a. XII): "El primer robado en la Plaza de Sevilla es un Clérigo".

(b. XII): "El cojuelo que se había disfrazado en hábito de Clérigo, y se había ido á alojar en la Calle de Tintores, en la imprenta es judío. siendo el de la estafeta de Manipodio, es imposible fuese judío, pues ser los tales ineptos y repugnantes á la devoción que en casa de Manipodio se practicaba. Tal judío no hay en la edición que presentamos."

(p. XV): "El M.S. da á entender que la Novela se escribió en Andalucía, el impreso en Castilla. Véase: impreso: Alcudia, Como Vamos de Castilla á Andalucía; MS.: Viniendo de Castilla para Andalucía."

With these Corrections which have never been given elsewhere, the Text gains materially, and becomes perfect in every respect, except that the second part does not appear, a usual thing, especially in picaresque novels

For special bibliography of the Novelas Exemplares, see D. Bodoano y Rincón, Ensayo crítico sobre las novelas ejemplares de Cervantes con la bibliografía de sus ediciones. Valencia, 1820, 8vo.

(And the Bibliografía Cervantica 2 vols. (in press).

In his (Historia de los Hispanicistas de España, Madrid, 1884-1889, 4 vols. Vol. III, p. 271.

III. This book is very rare; the copy in the Ticknor library is incomplete (see his Catalogue, p. 486, Ordóñez de Cevallos). Printed Madrid, 1614.

Book I. the author's soldier life, Book II his travels as a missionary. Book III contains in Rome, what different from all that is found in Book II.

The interest lies not in the historical and geographical part, from which nothing new is learned, but in the fact that the pícaro crops out in all classes of literature.

see Ticknor II. p. 304, in note 1, about Juan de Figueroa, where he mentions our book and another

by the same author: Relaciones verdaderas de los reynos de Cochin China y Champan. Jaen, 1628, which I have not consulted.

112 Les Aventures de Jean de Vargas, themselves by lui-même. Traduites de l'Espagnol sur le Manuscrit original par Charles Navarin. A Paris, chez P. Jannet, Libraire, 1853 (Bibliothèque Elzevirienne) See Ticknor, Catal., p. 370, Ternaux Compans, where we find that Ternaux communicated his authorship to Ticknor.

Ufrera's statement (Ticknor, Cat., ibid.) that the second part of Vargas is taken from the German Simplicissimus is partly correct; there occurs, as far as I can see, only one passage from Simpl., while the rest is from Cervallos.

113 For Juan de Figueroa, see Barrera, p. 579. Prof. Rennert has added some interesting facts about Figueroa's life in Italy: see Modern Lang. Notes, vol. VII, 398-410.

His works are difficult to find. I place here

What I can gather from various books.

1602. Guarini's Pastor Fido, translated into terceto (Salvá 1274, Gallardo 3983), reworked entirely 1609 (Salvá 1275); the 1602-edition was reprinted in 1622, (Salvá 1275, cp. Irving to Lafuente note to his Translation of Ticknor, III, p. 543); 1609, La Constante Amarilis (Salvá 2002), reprinted with French translation 1614 (Salvá 2003), and in Spanish alone 1781 (Salvá 2003; Ticknor, Cat., states: 3te impresion); 1612, La España defendida (Salvá, 985; Gallardo 3985); reprinted and called 5ta impresión, 1644 (Salvá 986; Heredia 5646); 1613, Hechos del Marqués de Cañete (Salvá 3408; Heredia 3439; Ticknor, Cat.; see Ticknor, II, 107, note); 1615, Plaza universal de todas ciencias (Salvá 2427; Ticknor, Cat.; see Ticknor, II, 304, note 1. and Supplement, p. 183; prohibited in Index 1790, not prohibited — that of 1667, Soto, mayor); 1617, El Peregrino (Salvá 2004; Gallardo 3986); reprinted 1618 (Gallardo 3987); 1621, Varias noticias (Salvá 2006; Gallardo 3983; Ticknor, Cat.)

1629, Pusilipo (Salvá 2005; Heredia 6151).

Other works that, according to Serrano (p. 379), are stated in the España Defendida of 1612, to have been published at that date, are absolutely unknown; the Residencia de Talentos had not yet appeared in 1621, though promised in 1612 (see Salvá 2006). The matter is obscure in the extreme; and will probably never be cleared. In the Pasagero (Edition Barcelona, 1618, fol. 281, 2°) the author says that he had published, up to that time, seven books; in my list there are only six, including the Pasagero. All the works of Suarez are very rare, especially the Pusilipo, of which only the Salvá copy is known.

114. Alivio VI - VIII (Edition Madrid, 1617: fol. 286-388; Ed. Barcelona 1618: fol. 213-288.)

115. Alivio VII, fol. 307-346 (228-260)

116. On Espinel see the Biography in the new Edition of Obregon, Barcelona, Biblioteca Hist. y Retros., 1881. Juan Perez de Guzman [illegible] Espinel

biography and bibliography, containing many new facts about the life and the books. Unfortunately we find (p. I) the following statement by the Editor: "No puedo hacer aquí in extenso el trabajo documental que reservo para más propicias circunstancias," for the writer having become insane in 1873 with scant hope of recovery, his notes and documents are, for a long while at least, inaccesible.

I am not prepared to give here anything like a complete list of Espinel's Candatory poems, and his criticisms at the beginning of various books; my material for such a collection is as yet too inadequate to be reproduced.

For Obregon and Gil Blas, or, to use the French formula, "la Question du Gil Blas", see the exhaustive study in the admirable work, Lesage Romancier, par Léo Claretie, Paris, 1890: pp. 190-250, for the history of the question; pp. 250-261, for a comparison of the two books. And Brunetière in

Histoire et Littérature : "La question de Gil Blas", pp. 225-269

After Claretie, Eugène Lintilhac has written for the séries, Les grands écrivains français, the volume on Lesage (Paris, 1893), in which (pp. 78-86) he sums up the question.

In the Spanish tale no one has done more thorough work than Adolfo de Castro, in his annotated edition of Gil Blas (Madrid, 1852, in the Biblioteca Univer. sal, Segunda Serie, Entrega 78-86, 180 pages, large 8vo) where he gives all the passages from Spanish literature which Lesage imitated. To those there given many more might be added, for since 1852 many books have again been studied which were forgotten or inaccessible at that time.

Adolfo de Castro comes to the following conclusion: "El Gil Blas es una obra compuesta de diferentes piezas: un primoroso mosáico debido al ingenio, al buen gusto de Le Sage: un alcázar levantado

con trozos de edificios griegos, latinos y árabes: los materiales son egipcios; pero del esqueleto de minaretes y estructura de fábricas tan notable."

Comparing this statement with that of Pérez de Guzman (p. xxx) who calls Lecaye, "el autor francés poco escrupuloso, que ha usurpado á la pluma española una de esas reputaciones, que en la esfera intelectual los frívolos escritores de Francia deben con harta frecuencia á los robos que practican sobre las literaturas extranjeras", the work of de Castro becomes the more noteworthy and important.

Espinel's Rimas were printed in 1591 (Gallardo 2125) and have never been reissued. The work is so rare that even Salvá did not possess a copy.

117. Salvá 196 contained in MS. many poems by Espinel, some of which he transcribes, while others have to be omitted on account of their indecent character.

118. Juan de la Cuesta, the printer, made his statement that he paid one hundred ducados for Guzman.

at the end of the segunda Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Madrid 1618 (see Barrera, p. 680-681)

119. Vgr. the story of the hidalgo's fight with the Corr, (Relación I, descanso VIII); of the gambler and the traveler (Relación I, descanso XIII), etc.

120. For example, "Don Fernando de Toledo, el tio, que por discretísimas travesuras que hizo le llamaron el Pícaro." (Relación I, descanso I); a good story about the Conde de Lemos (Relación I descanso 24); one about the Marqués de las Navas (Relación II, in Trobuelos) etc.

121. Especially the one (Relación III, descanso 17), where Moreyra meets on the road, Pedro Fernandez Espinel, who says he made to fun his neighbor and "¿Cómo se llama? pregunté; y respondióme con mi propio nombre.

122. His long stay with the Nuevo (Relación II descanso 8-14) cannot be rhymed with his known history, and no one of his literary friends (Rojas, Quevedo, etc. [illegible]

the slightest allusion to such an event.

123. See the Prólogo and the beginning of the Epílogo.

124. Beginning of Relación Primera.

125. The Desordenada Codicia has no name on title-page; the dedication is signed García. Only reprint edition known: Paris 1619. It is supposed, with good show of reason, that the author was the same man who, two years before, issued under the signature Carlos García (which on the title-page is El D. Carlos García) the book mentioned in note 126.

Reprinted: Separata. Sevilla 1886. Imprenta de E. Rasco (only one hundred copies printed).

With the other work: Madrid, 1877 (vol. VII of the Libros de Antaño.)

126. La oposición y conjuración de los Reyes grandes Emisinares de Cristianos; subtitle: La antipatía de Españoles y Franceses, Paris, 1617.

Frequently printed - with a French translation signed R. D. B.; the afore-mentioned Madrid edition of 1877

enumerates Paris 1617; Cambray 1622; Ghent 1645; while
with title Antipatia etc., Rouen 1627 (of which two
pretended editions, differing only in title-page, are described)
127. See about his works, Adolfo de Castro, in the Intro-
duction to vol II of the Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y
XVII (Riv. 42), p. XXXIV.

Of the Enriquez de Castro, Gallardo mentions (no.
2821) an edition of Paris, viuda de Matias Guillemot,
1612, 877 pp. This probably is a mistake for that of
Paris 1617, viuda de Matias Guillemot, 879 pp., which
is generally considered the first (see Salvá 1875) and
only edition, though Barbier has Lucerna (Antonio Fran-
cisco) 1621 which vide (v.c.) Medicaeus is not an Antonio.
The Engaño de este siglo, Paris, 1617, see Tichnor, (v.c.)
is a well-written, but indecent, little book, containing an
endless series of deceptions that men and women play
upon one another. It is characteristic of the times
that Tichnor copy lacks the pages 265-266, which
probably were torn out by some pious person because

they contain a denial against the "derecho de asilo" of churches, while the rest of the book was left for the edification of its readers.

I do not agree entirely with Adolfo de Castro (l.c.) as to the correctness of the language of the Engaños. "No Spaniard would have written so a conclusion to a book:" Suplícote de no tener á mal si cojo las de villa diego y te lexo á muy buenas horas." The Enriquez de Castro is more nearly correct, at least so it appears; the fact is, I have not read the book with strict attention. Let it be said here that of the Enriquez, after Eight hundred and Seventy-Nine pages, the author promises a second part, which fortunately never appeared.

The Cost of the book in Madrid is never below 300 rs.; a fine copy costs even 400 rs.

The biography and bibliography of Juan Barbadillo is found in Barrera, pp. 352-358. In the Bibliography some minor changes may be made from Salvá and Gallardo.

130. The printer is the well-known Padilla, who practised his trade from 1733-1746 (see Salvá 1751 and 1839). In the list in no. 131 now in my possession, we find, as Barrera (p. 357, a) points out, both the Coche de las Estafas, which belongs to Castillo Solórzano, and the Licenciado Talega, a book that is absolutely unknown except from Padilla's lists.

131. In the Estafeta del Dios Momo, Madrid 1627 (a copy in the Ticknor Library, Boston), we find in the Elogio the statement: "Diez y siete libros deue la erudicion Española á Alfonso de Salas", and at the end of the book a list of only sixteen works.

In the Coronas del Parnaso, Madrid, 1635 (posthumous) we read: "Ilustro nuestra nacion con 19 hijos de su entendimiento."

Likewise in the "Epistle Dedicatory" to The Fortunate Fool London 1670 (Ticknor Library) we read: "his works which are in all 19 volumes, besides many Excellent Plays." If the plays that constitute volumes

are not counted, it is impossible to arrive at nineteen volumes. The English writer may have meant that in the volumes are found intercalated several plays.

1124. Dn. Narciso Serrejón de Amor, in three parts. [illegible] places, Barcelona 1760 (Ticknor Library; see also Salvá, 2015). The original Aprob. and Lic. are of April 1665; so the work must be a reprint of the 1666- edition which Salvá mentions. Besides the five Stories by Alonso de Alcalá y Herrera (each having one vowel), as stated by Salvá, we also find the Tres mentidos fingidos y Tirso. The "pícaro amante" is found pp. 190-209, and has for additional title: "escarmiento de mugeres, burlesca". The story must be of about 1628; it is told long after it happened "en Valladolid, donde está la Corte"; the Caballero del milagro also occur here.

1125. El hecho bien afortunado appeared in Madrid 1651 (see Gallardo, no. 2761). Two English translations (The fortunate fool, by Philip Ayres 1670; The lucky chance, by a

pieces of quality, 1760, the latter abridged) are in the Ticknor Library; an Italian translation (Lo scicocco ignorante avventurato, Fabrizio de Cesare Lancelotti Venetia 1634) was consulted by me in the library of Leyden University.

134. Alonso Mozo de muchos Años, Madrid 1624, Barcelona 1625; Segunda Parte, Valladolid 1626 (see Gallardo, nos. 81-83). Other works by the author: Milagros de Nuestra Señora de la Fuencisla, Valladolid 1615; Libro para la vida Christiana, Valladolid 1632 (Gallardo, nos. 84-85). Of the Milagros the author seems to have been proud; he makes Alonso mention the book (Donado, in Riv. 18, p. 574, b.). The author's life is given in the second (see Salvá 2875) edition of Colmenares, Historia de la insigne Ciudad de Segovia, Madrid 1640. pp. 777-778, and a printed "memorial" is in the Segovia library: "Pleyto de Colmenares Segovianos" Segovia 1577. pp. 181-188. From Colmenares we learn: born 1503, studied Theology with Fr. Juan de la Cruz, but abandoned it "por humanos respetos" as he says in the Prólogo

to the Verdades; studied medicine at Valencia; practised at Segovia; died 1632 (see also Riv. 18, p. XIII). In the Alonso or Donado we find a glowing eulogy of Valencia as a place for the study of medicine (Riv. 18, p. 524, a), all of which makes Tickner Clark (II, 221, note 1) the stranger: that the word "Alcalá" in the name of the author only indicates that he studied at Alcalá.

The passage which the Alonso imitates from the Necedades afortunado of Barbadillo is found: Riv., 18, p. 499-501.

135 To mention only the Fables (pages according to Riv. 18):

La fontaine's "Le meunier, son fils et l'âne" p. 508;

" "Les animaux malades de la peste" p. 512;

The lioness seeks a divorce p. 533;

The cat of Venus changed into a girl p. 560;

The donkey who caresses his master p. 566;

The deer and the kid determine to abandon fear p. 571.

136 pp. 545-551.

137 pp. 517-522.

138 Gallardo, nos. 941-944.

139. one by Montalvan (Barrera, p. 268); perhaps also one by Belmonte (mentioned in the Bachiller Trapaza, Ed. 1733, p. 163), the existence of which is doubted by Barrera (p. 31), but Trapaza being of 1634, I have little doubt that such a play existed once.

140. Historia de la Monja Alférez, doña Catalina de Erauso, Escrita por ella misma, é ilustrada con notas y documentos, por D. Joaquin María de Ferrer, Paris, Didot 1829.

The story has recently been translated into French, and edited with a good summary introduction and final bibliographical note by J. M. de Hérédia (La Nonne Alferez, Paris, Lemerre, 1894, with illustrations by Vierge)

There is no doubt as to the real existence and history of the Monja Alférez; the only uncertainty is whether she herself wrote what passes as her life.

141. Comentarios de el Desengañado de si mismo prueba de todos estados y elección del mejor

de ellos, ó sea Vida de el mismo autor, que lo es Don Diego Duque de Estrada.

Edited after a Mss. copy in the Bibl. Nacional at Madrid, by D. Pascual de Gayangos, as vol. XII of the Memorial Histórico Español Madrid, 1860. 518 pp. text, + XVIII of Introduction, and 18 of Index.

The author lived from 1589 till about 1647; his work ends in the latter part of 1646. He began to write in 1614 (see his Dedicatoria of the first part, on p. 2)

1422 Quevedo enjoys the privilege of being the Spanish author who, next to Cervantes, has had in D. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe the most faithful panegyrist, an intelligent critic and in E. Mérimée a careful critic. To the outcome of their investigations it is impossible to add with our present light.

Quevedo's works, as edited (that is, only the first two volumes; the third was prepared by D. Florencio

Jaen, who died without having fully accomplished the task of commenting and annotating the text) by Fernández Cuenca, Allegy Vols. 23, 48, 69 of the Rivadeneyra Collection. The Bascon is found in Vol. 23, pp. 485-528; the Bibliography in the same volume, pp. XCII - XCIII, enumerates forty-six editions. The princeps is of 1626; the last there mentioned is of 1845.

Mérimée's book: Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Quevedo. par E. Mérimée. Paris, 1886, IX + 466 pages. With an excellent portrait

143. Mérimée (pp. 150-151) marks the facts to which a date can be placed, all of which are contained in the period from 1602-1607. Quevedo was born in 1580, and finished his studies at Alcalá not earlier than 1600; so the period of composition followed immediately upon his student life, while the scenes of the work are mainly reminiscences of his University days.

144. Lib. I, Cap. XI (Riv. 23, p. 505-506)

145. The Gerardo has for title: Poema trágico del

Espinel Gerardo, y Descendencia del mismo Escudero.
The first edition, Madrid 1618, contains only the first
part. Ticknor (II, 233) says the second part appeared
in 1617; the first edition which I find to contain
Part II is of 1621, which gives the same date of the
Aprobaciones as that of 1618. The matter is undecided, since Ticknor does not mention his authority.

Since the Pindaro appeared in 1626, I enumerate
here only the editions of the Gerardo previous to 1626.

1. 1618, Madrid, Part I (Gallardo, 1797; Salvá, 1764; Rivadeneyra 2594; 5988)
2. 1617, Madrid. (Navarrete Bosquejo, VII, note 1.)
3. 1618, Barcelona (Navarrete, ibid.)
4. 1618, Madrid (Navarrete, according to Ticknor, l.c.).
5. 1621, Cuenca, Part I and II (Gallardo, 1798).
6. 1623, Madrid (Luis Fr. Guerra Hist. cit. note 541).
7. 1625, Lisbon (Gallardo, 1799; Salvá 1764)

The Gerardo has since gone through numerous Editions.
Reprinted in Riv., 18, pp. 117-271.

For appreciations of the work see Ticknor, II, 233, and Navarrete, Bosquejo (Riv. 18) pp. VIII - X who highly esteems it except for the language.

146. 1. Varia Fortuna del Soldado Pindaro. Por Don Gonçalo de Cespedes y Meneses. vezino y natural de Madrid. Lisboa 1626 (Gallardo 1793)

2. Madrid, 1661. (Gallardo 1794)

3. Zaragoza, 1696 (Gallardo 1795)

Ticknor, l.c., also mentions only these three editions. Salvá does not even mention the book.

Reprinted in Riv. 18, pp. 272-375.

147. Don Raimundo el Entremetido, Alcalá, s.a. (1627), printed anonymously,

see Barrera, p. 405-406. Aurel. F. Guerra, in Obras de Quevedo I (Riv. 23), p. LXXXV, c.; Mérimée, Quevedo, p. 168, note 4.

The most recent edition of the Raimundo is in the Obras de Quevedo, Madrid, Castelló, 1840-1845, 5 vols. (vol. IV, pp. 71-101).

148. The only satisfactory review of Castelló's life and works is found in Barrera, pp. 75-78. Menéndez Pelayo (in the Introduction to Rivadeneyra) mentions the Gardenia but does not give the name of Teresa or Trapaza. Ticknor (II, 222) makes only cursory mention of all three works.

149. La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares. Valencia, 1632; Barcelona, 1632; Madrid, 1733.

These seem to be the only editions that exist of this work. Ticknor's Catalogue gives the Barcelona as the first edition, see Barrera. Salvá did not have the book. Gallardo mentions only the Barcelona edition.

Barrera mentions an edition: Valencia, 1634. Salvá (1149) gives: "Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza, gerifalte esencia de embusteros, y maestro de embusteros, Barcelona Çaragoça, 1637". The preliminaries are dated Zaragoza 1635. Hence Salvá supposes the possibility of an edition of that year. Afterwards: Madrid, 1733 (Salvá, 1150; Ticknor, Catalogue).

151. Nicolás Antonio gives an edition of Logroño, 1634; Barrera, one of Valencia, 1634; Salva (1731) mentions one of Madrid, 1642. Afterwards: Madrid, 1733. Re, printed in Riv., 33, pp. 169-234.

152. Adolfo de Castro, in his Gil Blas, Madrid 1852, gives various passages where Lesage imitated the Teresa. To these should be added Chapter XVI. of the Trapaza, headed: "Como Trapaza volvió á encontrar á Este, fancia, quien luego cuenta lo que la habia sucedido", and is almost literally rendered in Gil Blas, Book V, Chapter 7, where Laura relates her history.

153. C. Michaelis de Vasconcellos, in Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, II, 2, p. 351: "Der neunevner, testa Schelmenroman ist 'O peralvilho de Cordova' von Matheus da Silva Cabral, der als Fortsetzung zu Solorzanó 'Bachiller Trapaza' zu fassen ist."

154. The author, to explain the name, says: "Pusieron le por nombre Fernando, que hijo de padres tan Trampas en apellido, y otro Trampaje, bien cabia

plación que debía llamarse Trapaza, como cosa muy propinqua á ser efecto de los dos apellidos: así le llamaron con este supuesto nombre mientras vivió.

(Ed. 1733, p. 141)

The word trapaza, however, existed long before the date of composition of the novel. In the Comedia Tebaida (first edition 1521; reprint Madrid 1894) we find the adjective trapacero (p. 416; p. 422). The word trapaza occurs in the Cortes de la Muerte, date 1557 (printed in: Romancero y Cancionero Sagrados, Riv., vol. 35) in the following passage (p. 25, col. 3.)

"¡De cuanto ciego, trapaza,
Te he sacado, que este pero,
Y hora dasme con la maza,
Pagando como picaza,
Lo tuyo y tambien lo ajeno!"

155. For instance, the Monja Alferez, on p. 160 (Ed. 1733).

156. The book was intended to bear the title: "La Congregacion de la Miseria" and to relate the ad-

ventures of Teresa's children, two taking after their father, a miserly merchant, and a daughter after the mother.

It is possible that these continuations actually appeared. Castillo (1687) describes the Risardo Enamorado of our author, which is absolutely unknown except by this description, and Castillo mentions (cit. Barrera, p. 77, a). Menéndez y Pelayo has of our author: Encarnación de amor mortificado, which no bibliographer mentions. So it is possible that at some unexpected moment the works of Castillo's hand may turn up.

157. The best study of the author is found in the Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España, por D. José Amador de los Ríos. Madrid 1848. Chapters 7-8, pp. 569-607. and shorter in Menéndez Pelayo, Los Heterodoxos Españoles, vol. II, pp. 611-616. The dramatic works are fully discussed by Barrera, pp. 134-142.

El siglo Pitagórico passed through the following editions:

1. Rouen, Maury, 1644 (Ticknor II 223, note 1.)
2. Rouen, Maury, 1647 (Menéndez Pelayo, p. 614, note 1.)
3. Rouen, Maury, 1682 (Salvá, 1789, makes the curious statement that there are two different editions by the same publisher, and in the same year.
4. Brussels, Foppens, 1727 (Salvá 1789; Menéndez, l.c.)

The Guardiña was reprinted separately in Riv. 33, pp. 257-283.

157. For instance the first chapter is one continuous criticism on his parents and relations, all connected with the medical profession & examples of 3 columns!

159. "Mas vale errar por piadoso que acertar por riguroso" (Riv. 33, p. 279, b.)

160. Puigblanch, in his Opúsculos gramático-satíricos, London, S.a. (1833), 2 vols., has the first to note Lesage's indebtedness to the Siglo Pitagórico. See his vol. II, p. 372; also Navarrete, Bosquejo, p. LXXXVIII,

note 1., and Menéndez Pelayo, Heterodoxos, II, p. 614-615.

161. See Cleveria, Le Sage, pp. 183-187.

162. Ticknor, II, p. 224.

163. The most striking passage in Spanish literature about the excesses of the soldiers on their march through Spain is found in the Buscón Habladis, Part I, Chapter II (Riv., 18, pp. 196-198). From the Anales de Pellicer and other historical sources Max Krenkel draws examples to illustrate Calderon's Alcalde de Zalamea. See his Einleitung, p. 372 (in Klassische Bühnenbibliothek der Spanier von Max Krenkel. III. Calderon Der Richter von Zalamea, Leipzig 1887.)

164. 1. Amberes, Crabbart 1646 (Salvá 1830; Heredia 2620)

2. Madrid, Rodriguez, 1652 (Salvá 1831; Heredia 6038)

3. Madrid, Sanz, s. a. (1720) (Heredia 6039)

4. Madrid, Peralta, 1725 (Heredia 2621)

5. Madrid, Padilla, 1729 (Salvá 1832; Heredia 6040)

6. Madrid, Ruiz, 1795, 2 vols. (Salvá 1832)

Reprinted in Riv. 33, pp. 285-367; [illegible]

a rather comical poem "Al Vulgo" found in the editions nos. 1-5. These also contain a portrait of the author, which, with slight variations, is the same as that reproduced by Selva, l.c. A copy of no. 3., in my possession, is without the portrait, though showing no signs of its having been originally published with the book and afterwards removed.

It seems probable that other editions appeared between 1652 and 1720.

165. Printed for the first time in 1632 (La Dorotea, accion en prosa, de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio. Madrid, 1632.). For the bibliography of later editions, see Barrera, p. 450. Reprinted in Riv., 34, pp. 1-70. A good French translation, with interesting introduction, though this latter is written for a public unacquainted with the facts of Spanish literature, is: Lope Felix de Vega Carpio. La Dorotea. Action en prose. Traduite par C. B. Dumaine. Paris, Lemerre, 1892, 110+458 pp.

166. Ticknor (II, p. 258) calls the book insipid; I think

it is one of the most entertaining and instructive in the whole Spanish literature. Ortés y Rubio (Discurso p. 50) places it with the Novela Picaresca, though acknowledging, as Pellicer (l.c.) suggests, that the book was perhaps intended to oppose this class of novels.

First edition, Madrid 1663; reprinted repeatedly, Valencia 1704; again, in Sanchez' works, Madrid, 1723, 4 vols., vol. III, pp. 264-372.

167. Notably in the Vida y Hechos de Estevanillo González, a very clever description of all that can be seen in the Capital; in the "Tarascas de Madrid"; in the "Gigantones de Madrid por defuera", and other like works, all of which are entertaining descriptions of the manners of the citizens, and full of information. They are all reprinted in the Obras, 1723.

168. See Barrera, p. 314-315.

Barrera states that the "Obras ... y Aventuras de Don Preula" "contienen, ademas de la novela expresada, una comedia burlesca y diez entremeses."

The fact is that the whole book is the story of Don Trudla, in which the dramatic pieces occupy the place which, in several novels (Cspinel, Espinel, etc.), is given to short stories, intended to while away the time. For these in later works (Castillo's Teresa and others) short plays were substituted. So in the Trudla these plays are used for the social entertainments that are given to the hero, or by him to his tormentors.

Espinel's Obras were published, as Barrera states, Madrid 1656. They were already prohibited by the Index of 1667 (Sotomayor), and are still found prohibited in the Index of 1790 (Cevallos). This fact has made the book extremely rare. It is a very entertaining story, and contains some curious facts about the customs of the time.

In addition to the works Barrera enumerates as belonging to this author, we find that in the Avisos para la muerte of 1654 he figures as one of the contributors, in company with the best poets of

that time (see Gallardo, 3568)

169. Torres' life is summarized in Barrera, pp. 404-405. His works embrace fourteen volumes in the Edition: Madrid, 1745-1752, and fifteen in the reprint: Madrid, 1799. No additional matter is found in the reprint: the original vol. VII was divided into VIII and VIII. in the new edition. My copy of the life (edition 1752, vol. 14 of the set) was used by the editor of 1799 for his publication, and contains all his corrections.

How Ticknor (II, 346) can say that Torres "was distinguished by his knowledge of natural science" is not clear, after reading the man's life.

The first four Trozo of Torres' life were published together in 1743; the fifth Trozo, in 1750; the sixth, in 1758.

170. Gallardo, no. 266: Vida y sucesos del Astrólogo Don Pedro Torres, escrita por el mismo Don Pedro, Arias, Madrid, 1744.

171. The best and most thorough study of Feijóo is

found in: Menéndez Pelayo, Heterodoxos, vol. III, pp. 67-82, where numerous corrections are made to Tichnor's appreciation (see Ticknor, II, 347-350)

172. All previous studies of Isla's life, merits and importance, pale before the beautiful work: Leo Réchéac, Un Jésuite en Espagne au 18me siècle. Étude sur le P. Isla, par le P. Bernard Gaudeau, S.J. Paris 1891 (final form of his Le Père Isla. Étude sur le 18me siècle en Espagne. Paris, 1890).

The author of this remarkable study had as a Jesuit access to many documents that had not been accessible to earlier critics.

The only correct edition of the Gerundio, the only one for which the MS. of Part II was consulted, is that by Eduard d'Ocon. vols. XLIII and XLIV of Brockhaus' Coleccion de Autores Españoles. Leipzig 1885, 2 vols.

The first volume first appeared in 1758; vol. II, secretly, in 1768, the first having been prohibited by

an edict of 1760. Vol. II was prohibited in 1776.

174 Isla's translation of Gil Blas was first printed in 1787. On the question of the originality of Gil Blas see my notes to Espinel's Obregon, to Isla, Zamora Trapaga, etc., and for Gandeau's view: Gandeau, Isla, pp. 143-166.

175. The author is absolutely unknown; his name may have been assumed. The novel has the following title: Los Enredos de un Lugar, ó Historia de los Prodigios y Hazañas del Célebre Abogado de Concheula el Lic. Farrago del famoso Escribano Carrales y otros ilustres Personages que hubo en el mismo pueblo antes de despoblarse, etc. Su Autor: Don Fernando Gutierrez de Vegas, Abogado de los Reales Consejos. Madrid, 1778-1781, 3 vols. Small 8vo. Reprinted in 3 vols. Madrid 1800, with omission of the "Advertencia á quien leyere", with which vol. I of 1778 began. A copy of the rare first edition is in my possession.

178 Viajes de Enrique Wanton al pais de las Nueces, traducidos del inglés al italiano, y de éste al español. Por Don Joaquín de Guzman y Manrique. Madrid, 2 vols. 1772.

A supplement in 2 vols. appeared in 1778, in the introduction of which the author says: "buscando en Italia la continuación, acabé de persuadirme á que el Autor no era Inglés, como se finge sino verdaderamente Italiano".

I have not succeeded in finding the Italian author of the original two volumes.

See about Guzman y Manrique: Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de los mejores Escritores del Reynado de Carlos III, Por D. Juan Sempere y Guarinos Madrid Tomo VI, pp. 112.

His real name was Gutierro Joaquín Vaca de Guzman. The first part being too personal, he was compelled by royal order to stop editing it, the continuation avoided personal allusions.

177. Vida de Perico del Campo. Obra traducida al de idioma original, por un buen español. Dála á luz el Abate Alleno. Madrid, 1792.

It is a translation of: La vie de Pétrille del Campo Roman Comique dans le goût espagnol. Par Monsieur T. G. D. T. Amsterdam 1720.

The first edition of the French work is of Paris, 1718 (see Barbier, Dictionnaire des Anonymes et Pseudonymes, Paris, 1806, 4 vols., no. 7383) Barbier says the author is Thibant. This name occurs in the Amsterdam edition at the bottom of the Dédicace; the Spanish translator has (Aviso del Traductor, fo. xi): "Thibant despues fué Gobernador de Talmont, Capital de Poitou, á lo que he podido averiguar, y eso quiere significar aquellas letras iniciales.

178. Aventuras de Juan Luis, Historia divertida, que puede ser útil, y da a luz Don Diego Ventura Rexon y Lucas. Madrid 1791.

The author was Don Diego Rejon de Silva, author of the poem: "La Pintura". Madrid, 1786.

Sempere y Guarinos (l. c., vol. V) mentions the poem, but not the novel.

See also Ceroto, in Riv. 61, p. CLXIV.

179. as does Cejés y Rubio, Discurso, p. 50, together with the last four books mentioned by me.

180. Vida de Pedro Saputo, natural de Almudebar, hijo de una mujer, ojos de vista clara, y padre de la agudeza. Zaragoza. Imprenta de R. Callifa. 1844. 348 pages, + 3 of Indice and 1 of Erratas.

This little book is a feuilleton of a Zaragoza newspaper. The only copy known is the one belonging to Menéndez y Pelayo.

The author was Braulio Foz, professor of Greek at Zaragoza. (See about him: Latassa, Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses. Edición renovada por D. F. Gómez Uriel, Zaragoza, 1884, to. I

pp. 522-524) He lived 1791-1865, and wrote besides:
Novísima poética española. Poema satírico en
12 cantos. Por e. A. d. S. Zaragoza, 1849.
This "e. A. d. S." means: El Autor del Sapato.

The Sapato contains a neat description of
Student life in the beginning of this century (cap. 9-13).

The story of La justicia de Almudebar is the
story of the peasants who, when their only blacksmith
has deserved capital punishment, hang seven Carpenters,
of whom they could spare a few.

The story of El milagro de Alcolea is the story
of Ulenspiegel with the boots.

181. Nothing is known about the author; the Mar-
chamalo is the only work that has appeared
with Muntadas' name. Probably it was a pseu-
donym. The full title is:
Vida y Hechos de Cid Perez de Marchamalo,
publicados por D. Juan Federico Muntadas. Madrid,
Rivadeneyra, 2 vols. First Edition: 1866;

Second edition: 1872.

182. Vol. II in the Segunda Serie of the Episodios Nacionales. First edition of this volume: Madrid, 1881; since then, frequently reprinted in the Series, especially in the Edición de Lujo, Madrid, 1881-1885.

183. First edition: Madrid 1884. Since then: vol. XIII of the Obras Completas de D. José M. de Pereda, Madrid, 1891.

184. See concerning the whole movement: Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos, vol. III, pp. 783-795.

185. In vol. III. of his Colección de Opúsculos, Sevilla, 1877. See Menéndez y Pelayo, l. c., p. 784, and p. 786, note 1.

186. Menéndez y Pelayo, ibid., p. 795

187. Guzman; Justino; Enrique de Lacio, hecho bien afortunado, Teresa; Gaudiña, Pindaro; Guadaña.

These explicitly promise a continuation that did not appear. I do not mention those which were actually brought to an end by the author. Zaguilán and the Buscon should have been continued by the au-

thus, according to indications at the end of the work.

182) Morel-Fatio (Etudes sur l'Espagne 1re Série, Préface, p. IX) says: "et défaut d'un gros livre, qui paraîtra en son temps, sur la société espagnole au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle, voici d'abord, et comme pour la préparer, plusieurs dissertations, etc."
This was written in 1888. Since that time the author has given us an article on the golilla as a typical part of the official Spanish Costume. It will be found in the Espasa Moderna for November 1894, and is the only outcome of his studies in this line, a sufficient proof of the magnitude of such undertakings. But, as the Spaniards facetiously say: in magnis voluisse sat est.

Life.

I, Fouger de Haan, was born at Leeuwarden, Holland, on the sixteenth day of April, 1859. I attended the "Rijks Hoogere Burgerschool met Vijfjarigen Cursus" in that town, graduating from it in June 1876. I studied Latin and Greek at the Gymnasia of Leeuwarden and Dokkum, and entered the University of Leyden, after passing the prescribed examination, in September 1879. I followed courses in Greek under Cobet, in Latin under Pluygers and Cornelissen, in Dutch under de Vries, in History under Vozy and Fruin. In 1883 I went to the University of Groningen, to follow courses in Modern Languages and the Classics, with Vinckers and Symons, Halbertsma and Bachrens. In 1885 I obtained the position of Instructor in Modern Languages at Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which I held for six years. From 1891-1895 I have been a Graduate Student in the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns [illegible]

University, spending the year 1892-1893 at the Universidad Central, Madrid, Spain, and upon my return becoming Assistant in the Department of Romance Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, which position I still hold.

I received a Fellowship in June 1894, upon which I did not enter.-